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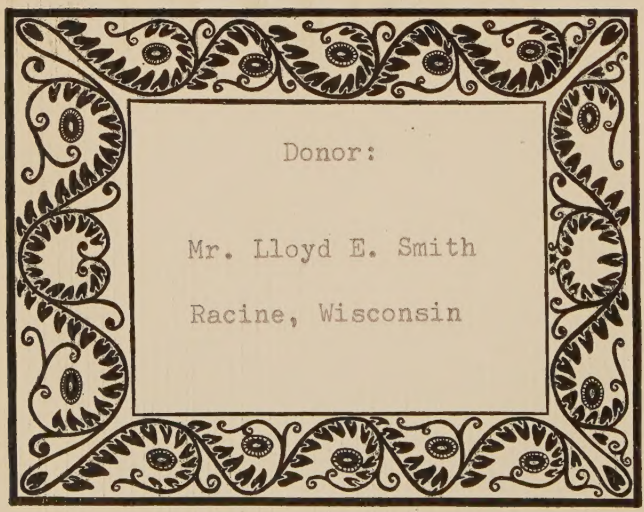

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THE CHOIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

ITS STORY AND ASSOCIATIONS

BY

MRS. A. MURRAY SMITH

(E. T. BRADLEY)

Author of "The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey," etc., etc.

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WESTMINSTER
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PREFACE.

THIS is in no sense a new book, it is rather an old friend in a new dress. Thirteen years ago, when the author had only recently left her home at the Westminster Deanery, this work, which she had actually written while still a dweller within the precincts, was published by Messrs. Cassell, under the title of "The Annals of Westminster Abbey," as an *édition de luxe*, with numerous illustrations, many of which are retained here.

In the Coronation year the same author brought out "The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey," a book which treats of the unforgotten dead who are buried or commemorated within our great national church, and who are not described with the same detail in the "Annals." It has now been deemed advisable to curtail the somewhat lengthy "Annals," and to publish them in an abridged form. Certain errors have been corrected, and the story of the Abbey brought up to date, with a new and more appropriate title.

Issued as it is in the same style as the "Roll-Call," it is hoped that all those who have perused the latter will read the companion volume, thus supplementing gaps in the one by the information in the other, and *vice-versâ*.

E. T. MURRAY SMITH.

40, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster.
September, 1906.

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Westminster Abbey

Its Story and Associations.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY TRADITIONS AND SAXON ABBOTS.

The first origin of St. Peter's monastery and church in the West of London is so obscured by legend, so lost in the mists of mediæval invention, that it is difficult to disentangle fact from fiction. The very early history of the Abbey is therefore more or less uninteresting to all but the lover of ancient documents, and will be but lightly touched on here. Even when history has taken the place of tradition, the records of the monastery must often seem dull and lifeless. Yet, at risk of occasionally dwelling too much on the doings of the princely abbots of St. Peter's Monastery and on the internal affairs of the house, it is proposed to trace the annals of the Abbey year by year from the first historical foundation in the eleventh century till the fuller records of modern days necessarily call for a more concise summary. All the functions and ceremonies which bind the history of England so closely with the great Abbey will here be chronicled. It will be seen, too, how dearly our sovereigns from time immemorial have loved the church, where, since the Conquest, they were all crowned, some married and many of them buried.

This is not the place for a topographical description of that part of ancient London which is still called by a name originally given to distinguish the Western Abbey —the "West Minster"—from the Eastern Cathedral,

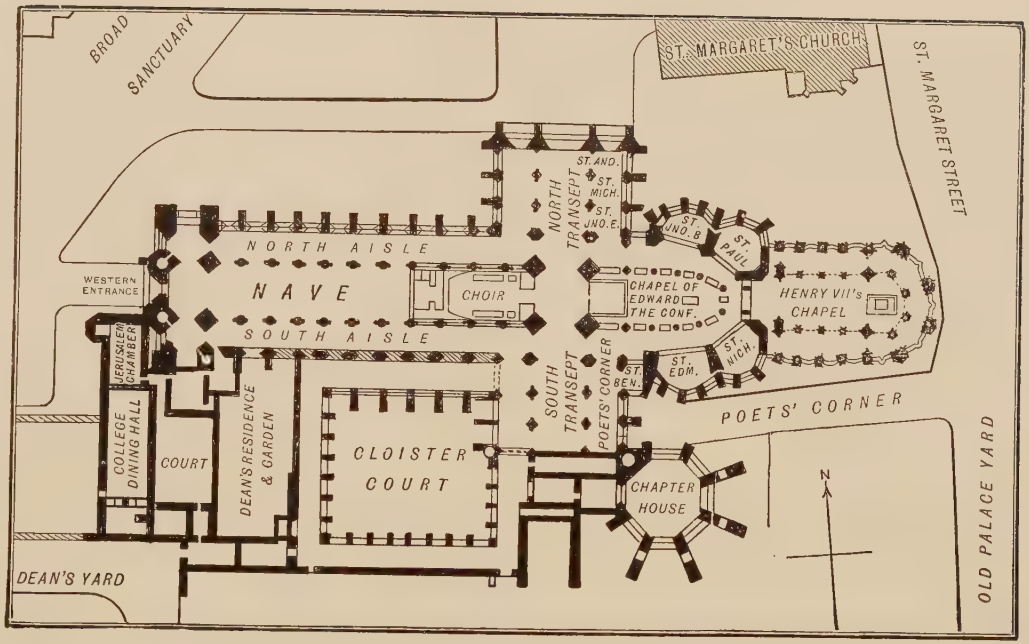
St. Paul's. Here, where now is the heart and centre of a busy metropolis, was once a solitary sandy island, "Thorney," *i.e.* the isle of thorns, choked with thorny thickets, and surrounded by running streams, which was situated in the country outside the walls of London proper. What spot more favourable for meditation than this "venerable," or, as some called it, "terrible," place could have been selected by the ancient monks to dwell in?

In what year the first monk set his foot on Thorney, and took possession of it in the name of the great order of St. Benedict, it is impossible exactly to determine. The later brethren themselves so tampered with their old charters in the hope of aggrandising the house that even experts have relinquished the task of distinguishing between the various reputed founders. The chroniclers stretched their imaginations as far back as the time of the British King Lucius (178), who they said built a Christian church here, upon the site of a heathen temple. It was Sebert, the first Christian king of the East Saxons, in the seventh century, upon whom the Norman monks, jealous of the boasted superior antiquity of other houses, ultimately fixed as their original benefactor. An ancient tomb, containing, they said, the bones of himself and his queen Ethelgovda, was first moved into Edward the Confessor's church, then into Henry III.'s, and still bears the courtesy title of Sebert's monument. Above it were fresco figures, one representing the Saxon monarch receiving the keys of the church from St. Peter, which were painted in the days of the fourteenth-century monks. But there is no historical foundation for the connection of Sebert with the monastery, and modern writers have believed this tomb to be really that of one Sebert, plain citizen of London, buried in the Confessor's time near the Chapter House, whose tomb was removed here as that of the Saxon king (in 1307), in order to give a basis for the story of Sebert's foundation.

It was, however, on the legend of St. Peter's miraculous consecration of Sebert's church that many of the later privileges of the monastery were founded, and the story was used seriously again and again by the brethren in order to support their claims to exemption from ecclesias-

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

PHOTOGRAPH BY F. G. O. STUART, SOUTHAMPTON.



PLAN OF THE ABBEY.

tical jurisdiction, to the tithe of the Thames fisheries, and even to the right of sanctuary.

The story was first told by Sulcardus, a Westminster monk in the eleventh century, and was afterwards amplified in the Norman-French and Latin Lives of Edward the Confessor. Briefly, it is as follows :—

The church of Sebert was built in the year 616. The Sunday night before the day appointed for its consecration, by Mellitus, Bishop of London, was wild and stormy, with the river flooding over the island, when a fisherman casting his nets into the stream heard a voice calling on the Lambeth shore. He went across, and found there a man in foreign garb, who offered a rich reward to anyone who would ferry him across to Thorney. Edric, the fisher, took the stranger into his boat and safely landed him on the other shore. As he waited to take him back he saw a bright light streaming from the windows of the new building, and heard angelic singing. As he watched, the simple fisher saw a vision of angels ascending and descending a ladder, which stretched from heaven to earth, and while he still gazed with dazzled eyes the mysterious traveller stood before him and revealed himself as St. Peter come to consecrate the church. All night Edric had caught nothing, and now the saint told him to cast his nets, and he should have a plentiful haul of salmon. He bade him go with a salmon in his hand to meet the bishop when he came the next day to consecrate the church, and tell him that St. Peter, keeper of the keys of heaven, had already dedicated the monastery for his own especial property, which should be henceforth his "frequent resort."

According to one version, St. Peter then charged the fisherman always to take a tithe of his fish as an offering to the Abbot of Westminster, forbidding him henceforth to fish on a Sunday. Another story has it that the tithe of fish was a spontaneous thank-offering from Edric. When Bishop Mellitus and King Sebert came to Thorney the following morning they found Edric awaiting them at the door of the church with a salmon in his hand, which, according to St. Peter's commands, he presented to the bishop for lack of an abbot. He then took the astonished king and

prelate into the building and told them his story, showing the crosses * on the walls, the moisture of the holy water, the Greek alphabet traced upon the sand, the marks of the oil, and, "chief miracle of all, the remains of the candles," proofs of the saint's visit.

Such was the legend, which was so credulously believed in later days that the abbot was able to exact his tithe of salmon every year long after the Confessor's historic church had swept away all traces of an earlier foundation.

Widmore, one of the first historians who seriously examined the evidence, sets aside King Sebert's foundation as mythical, but believes in the genuineness of two Saxon charters, the authenticity of which has since been called in question. The one, dated 785, is a charter of King Offa's, conferring various lands on the monastery, in which the house is spoken of as having existed some time and the name of the abbot is given. After Offa's time England was overrun by the Danes, who harried all the religious houses that they found, and the infant community on Thorney was probably ruined, if not wholly swept away. Then followed St. Dunstan, that great restorer of the Benedictine order in England, who is said to have founded a Benedictine settlement here—bringing twelve monks from Glastonbury—and to have obtained a charter conferring various lands and privileges upon the monastery from King Edgar in 960. Sulcardus is again responsible for these statements: he even adds the improbable story that Dunstan himself was abbot. These charters—whether copies made by the Norman monks, or forgeries of that same epoch—still exist. That some small and obscure monastery must have been here before Edward the Confessor's reign is shown by various facts. Canute, for instance, protected the monks on Thorney, and his son Harold Harfager was certainly buried here in 1039, though his remains were afterwards removed by Hardicanute. Once again, in the troublous times after the death of Canute, the monks were scattered abroad; but after peace was restored a small community estab-

* There were always twenty-four crosses — twelve inside, twelve out.

lished themselves in the ruined buildings, ruled over by an abbot—Wulnoth—of whom nothing beyond his name is known.

With the next abbot—Edwin—we reach, for the first time, the certain ground of history. All before was vague tradition, but now the real annals of St. Peter's Monastery may be said to begin. Edwin succeeded Wulnoth in 1049, and under his capable and prudent management the little convent bid fair to flourish, and before the first year of his abbacy was complete attracted the attention of the King.

Edward Atheling was called the Confessor because he was supposed to have suffered persecution, though not martyrdom, for the Christian faith ; the fact being that he and his brother had spent their youth in Normandy on account of the Danish invasion of England. There Edward had grown up Norman by manners and education ; and there, in one of the sudden fits of ecstatic piety to which he was prone, he vowed to go on a pilgrimage to St. Peter's at Rome should he ever peaceably inherit the English kingdom. When at last he succeeded to the crown (1042) several years more of turbulent fighting followed. By the help of Earl Godwin (whose daughter he married) he was finally settled on his throne, and then Edward bethought him of his vow. But the Witan protested that their King should not leave the country, and Edward, yielding to pressure, gave up his pilgrimage. He received absolution from Pope Leo IX., who enjoined instead the foundation or restoration of a religious house, dedicated to St. Peter.

The convenience of Thorney, the traditional antiquity of the little community of monks, and the character of the then abbot, all doubtless contributed to fix the King's choice : yet, since legends afterwards collected round Edward's character as a saint, a legend was found to account for a very natural decision. To an old monk of Worcester, bearing the same name as the first traditional abbot of Dunstan's time, Wulsinus, St. Peter, "bright and beautiful, like to a clerk," appeared in a vision, and delivered the following message :—

"I have a place in the west of London which I myself

chose, and which I love. This, formerly, I consecrated with my own hands, honoured with my presence, and made illustrious by Divine miracles. The name of the place is Thorney, which once, for the sins of this people, being given to the fury of the barbarians, from being rich is become poor ; from being stately, low ; and from honour is become contemptible. This let the King, by my command, repair and make it a house of monks, adorn it with stately towers, and endow it with large revenues. There shall be no less than the house of God and the gates of Heaven."

The holy hermit at once set out with a written account of his vision to lay before the King, and arrived at the same time as some messengers from Rome, who brought the sanction of the Pope (Nicholas II.) to the King's pious project. This was in 1050, and Edward at once took steps to endow his new foundation with estates and money. He also brought some Benedictine monks from Exeter to enlarge the house. That his interest in the little community of Benedictines had begun before this is shown by a grant which he made to his friend Abbot Edwin, restoring a legendary gift of King Edgar's. Edward also confirmed the other grants of land to which the monastery laid claim, and endowed it with many estates of his own. Amongst these lands was Islip, near Oxford, said to have been his birthplace, which still remains attached to the Abbey as a chapter living.

Later on in Norman times the rising community laid claims to many extraordinary privileges, and showed charters to prove that they had been granted by King Edward. Whether these charters are wholly forgeries, or copied in part at least from older documents then extant, is a question impossible to decide, but the Norman-French phraseology dates their compilation without a doubt as after the Conquest. These three charters have been for eight hundred years the basis of most of the claims put forward by the abbots to various privileges, and used constantly in courts of law. Two bear the same date of the month, the 5th of January ; the third that of the 25th of August. All are dated 1045. The earlier documents contain a full account of the legendary foundation of the

SEBERT'S TOMB.
(*See p.* 2.)

EDRIC, THE FISHERMAN, AND BISHOP MELLITUS.
(*See p.* 3.)

monastery, its consecration by St. Peter, and its restoration by Edward the Confessor. The privileges granted by the earlier Saxon kings are confirmed, and the gifts received from Edward and his thanes recited at length. One contains a rescript from Pope Nicholas II., upon which much of the future history of the monastery was grounded—*i.e.* the express exemption of the monks from all but royal and papal jurisdiction, and the designation of the Abbey Church as the place set apart for the coronations of the English sovereigns. The later charter merely repeats the privileges conferred by the other two, confirming the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. These very charters were successfully used to support the claims of the monastery in its lawsuit with the Bishop of London.

In mediæval times charters brought forward by so influential a monastery were accepted without question, and it was not until the critics of the eighteenth century made researches amongst the records that the wording of the so-called Saxon deeds was discovered to be in the Norman-French rather than the Anglo-Saxon style. Various discrepancies in dates, etc., were also found. They were in all probability compiled by the monks some time after the death of the Confessor's friend, the first Norman King, when the infant monastery required protection from Norman encroachments.

But in the first days of the new building its Saxon founder had no such magnificent views; his object, no doubt, was merely the erection of a suitable sepulchre for himself, where monks might sing masses for his soul. The exemption from episcopal authority was evidently an afterthought on the part of the later monks, and was not fully confirmed by the Pope until 1222; while the privileges of sanctuary for which the Confessor's authority was afterwards claimed, did not really originate until after Edward's canonisation.

The monastic buildings, the refectory, the dorter, and other domestic offices were planned on so extensive a scale that they were by no means finished on Edward's death. The church, looked on then as an appendage to the monastery, took so long in building that for about ten years, until the choir was completed, the little com-

munity worshipped in the old chapel, which was gradually demolished as the new church, placed somewhat to the east of it, grew.

Prophetically conscious, as it seems, that he was not destined to see the completion of his cherished foundation, Edward pressed on the work year by year, and lavished gifts of money, of lands, of plate, and of vestments upon the abbot, which were added to by his brother-in-law Tostig and other Saxon nobles. The church was Edward's especial care. It was planned in the "new style," which the king had admired during his exile in France, and was the first example in England of Norman church architecture on so large a scale.

From an old MS. transcribed by Camden we get the following account, written at some time in the course of the two centuries during which the Norman church stood—an account which corroborates Sulcardus's remark that it was supported by many pillars and arches :—"The principal area or nave of the church stood on lofty arches of hewn stone, joined together in the nicest manner, and the vault was covered with a strong double-arched roof of stone on both sides. The cross, which embraced the choir, and by its transept supported a high tower in the middle, rose first with a low string arch, and then swelled out with several winding staircases to the single wall up to the wooden roof, which was carefully covered with lead."

On the Bayeux tapestry the church is represented as close to the palace, and connected with it by a passage or bridge. A rough outline of the general shape is there given, showing the short eastern end terminating in an apse, where stood the high altar, the central tower surrounded by small turrets, which were crowned with cupolas of wood and lead ; and the two small towers at the west end, which were probably scarcely finished when the tapestry was worked, for the building of the nave was continued many years after the Conquest.

Long afterwards, in a Norman-French Life of the Confessor, written most probably by a monk at Westminster, and dedicated to Henry III.'s Queen (in the Cambridge University Library), there is a description of the Norman

church, which the author must have seen before the destruction had commenced, two centuries after Edward's death. He speaks of the "large square blocks of grey stone in the foundations, which are deep," and remain, in fact, beneath the concrete of Henry's building to this day. "The front, towards the east, he (the Confessor) makes round, the stones are very strong and hard ; in the centre rises a tower, and two at the western front, and fine and large bells he hangs there. The work rises grand, and royal sculptured are the stones and storied the windows ; all are made with the skill of a good and loyal workmanship. And when he finished the work, with lead the church completely he covers ; he makes there a cloister, a chapter-house in front, towards the east vaulted and round, where his ordained ministers may hold their secret chapter, refectory and dormitory, and the offices round about."

The church is connected with various legends of the King's life as well as with his death. At mass, a few days before his illness, the Divine child appeared to him in a vision above the high altar and foretold his approaching end. It was in the palace close by, while Abbot Edwin was present, that the vision of the Seven Sleepers appeared to him, and he startled the abbot, who saw nothing, by one of his strange bursts of laughter. According to tradition, the turning of the Seven Sleepers from their right sides to the left was a portent of misfortune, the troubles to last till the sleepers turned again, in seventy years.

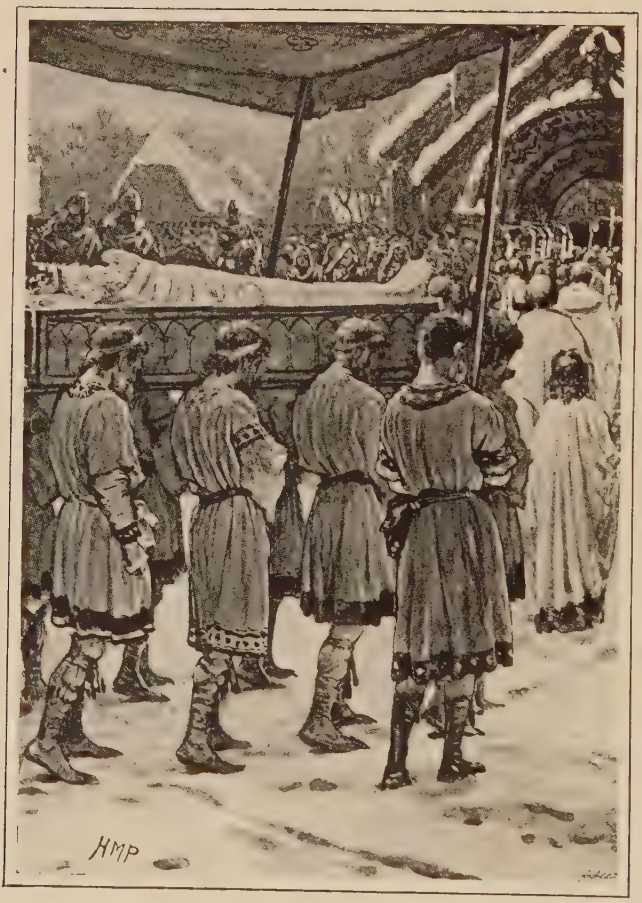
Before the church was completed Edward felt his days were numbered. Though his strength was rapidly failing, he presided at the great Council of State—the Witenagemot—held in December, 1065, at Westminster. He appeared wearing his crown, with all the insignia of royalty, at the Christmas services, and afterwards at the great Christmas feast in the palace. He caused all the preparations for the consecration of the new church—the choir of which was now completed—to be pushed on, hoping to be present ; but on the feast appointed—Innocents' Day, the 28th of December—he could not leave his bed. His wife, the Saxon Edith, was therefore his representative,

and she was supported by all the principal clergy and the great nobles of the land. Of the ceremony itself no record beyond the bare fact has come down to us ; we only know that Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided, and that when the solemn service was over, the "Lady" Edith (the title Queen was not used in Saxon times) returned to her vigil by the dying King, and, nursing his cold feet in her lap, won, at length, words of affectionate gratitude from the husband who had hitherto looked on her with mistrust, if not actual dislike, as Earl Godwin's daughter.

For a week after the consecration Edward lay speechless and unconscious, but upon the sixth day he roused himself, and poured out words prophetic of future sorrows for his country, and of a future deliverer. To his brother-in-law, Harold, who stood by his pillow, he committed his kingdom, and his body to the care of his friend, Abbot Edwin, to be interred in the new Minster. So, on the 5th of January, 1066, the first historic founder of our abbey breathed his last, a being in whose life and character good and bad, history and legend, are strangely mixed. Wayward and impatient as a child, his moods had varied from intense piety to passionate fits of temper, from days and nights spent in attending masses or praying in sackcloth on the cold stone, to weeks in the saddle, given up to the pleasures of the chase. Yet his popularity was deservedly great, for he had brought peace to England, and the element of gentleness and mildness in his character contributed to a popularity enhanced by his handsome person.

A cycle of legends and miracles gradually collected round his memory, till the saintly halo obliterated his faults and for his sake, no longer in honour of the original patron, St. Peter, king after king lavished gifts upon the Abbey. Upon a stone screen, behind the high altar, put up in the end of Henry VI.'s reign, may be seen depicted the legends of Edward's life. There is the thief robbing the treasure chest, while the King, raised upon his elbow, watches him silently till, hearing the approach of Hugolin, the Chamberlain, he warns him to fly, and only replied to Hugolin's natural reproaches with the

THE VISION OF WULSINUS.
(*See p. 5.*)



THE FUNERAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
(*See p.* 11.)

words: "The thief hath more need of it than we. Enough treasure hath King Edward." There he is washing the feet of beggars, or seated at the feast, between his wife and Earl Godwin, while Harold and Tostig, as boys, quarrel in the foreground, as they quarrelled over the kingdom when men. The most familiar legend of all is that connected with the famous ring of St. John, long left on the finger of the dead King, and, after the first transference of his body by Henry II. to a new tomb, kept amongst the relics. The ring was one, "large, royal, and beautiful," which Edward had, for want of other alms, drawn off his finger and given to a beggar. Two pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land received the ring from the same venerable man, who appeared to them surrounded by a bright light, and charged them to go back to England and deliver the ring to the King, with a message that in six months he, *i.e.* St. John, would welcome him in Paradise.

Edward was laid upon a bier in royal state, arrayed in one of the beautiful robes worked for him by Edith and her maidens; round his neck was the crucifix of gold afterwards so ruthlessly carried off by Keepe, and lost by James II. His beard white as a lily, his cheeks fresh as a rose, he was carried on the shoulders of eight of his liege men, in the cold dawn of a January morning, to his new Minster and laid before the high altar. Boys swinging bells and censers, priests bearing lighted tapers, followed by a crowd of ecclesiastics and monks, formed the procession up the dark Saxon nave and new Norman choir, which were lit by flaring torches, and thronged with mourning people. "Here psalms resound, there sighs and tears burst out; everywhere joy and grief commixed are carried to the church"; and "that temple of chastity, that dwelling of virtue (the King) is honourably interred in the place appointed by himself." On that morning, and for three hundred days after, funeral masses continued to be said for the dead King's soul, and the poor flocked to his grave to receive the alms left them by his bounty, while tales of miraculous cures soon began to be bruited abroad.

The funeral had been fixed for the day after Edward's

death because Harold, who had gone straight from the death-chamber to claim the election of the Witan to the kingdom, could not be legally crowned until his predecessor was buried.* Before the echoes of mourning had died away, Harold lay prostrate before the altar near Edward's grave, while the triumphal chant of the Te Deum replaced the funeral psalms. Aldred, the Primate of Northumbria, came forward, according to ancient custom, and asked the consent of the people to their new King, whereupon a loud shout of assent resounded amidst the arches. The threefold oath—to preserve peace, to forbid wrong and robbery, to enforce justice and maintain mercy—was sworn to by Harold, and the holy oil was poured upon his head while the choir sang of the anointing of Solomon. Then, vested in the royal robes, and seated upon a chair of state, the last Saxon king received the regalia : the crown, the sceptre with a cross on the top, the rod with a dove—used for so many centuries afterwards on the same spot. Then followed a solemn mass, Harold taking the sacrament ; and after leaving the Abbey came another ceremony, an essential part of nearly every future coronation, the banquet in the royal palace hard by. So the burial of the last of the kings of Cerdic's line was the first of many a royal funeral within the Abbey walls ; the coronation of Harold the Saxon the first of the long series of coronations which have taken place at Westminster.

* Some authorities say Harold was crowned at St. Paul's, but Professor Freeman has no doubt that it was at Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONQUEROR AND THE SAXON CHURCH.

During the long months which passed from the death of the peaceful Edward until the Battle of Hastings, England was wasted by internal strife and by foreign invasion. At last, on Christmas Day, 1066, just a year after the consecration of the Abbey church, a king of Norman race supplanted the old Saxon line, and with him a new language, new manners and customs, were to be introduced into the country. The coronation of William the Norman Conqueror was performed in the midst of the clash of arms. The morning dawned peacefully, the only signs of strife being a Norman guard of soldiers placed about the Abbey. Within the building all was pomp and ceremony, and the King took his place, as Harold had done before him, by the grave of the peace-loving Edward. Archbishop Aldred again asked the people's consent in Saxon, but the question had to be repeated in Norman-French by the Bishop of Coutances. Then, as the noise of the shout of "Yea, yea," which rose from the assembled multitude inside reached the ears of the guard without, an unaccountable frenzy seized the soldiers, who, perhaps imagining that their King was being slaughtered inside, flung lighted torches upon the straw-covered buildings about the church, and proceeded to plunder their contents. The people inside—some terrified for their goods, some eager to join the fray—rushed out; and William, surrounded only by the clergy and the monks of the convent, was left defenceless and unarmed in his place before the high altar. As he took the solemn coronation oath, his voice drowned by the roar of the flames and the shouts of the soldiers, the great Conqueror, it is recorded, trembled with fear and agitation. The ceremony was brought to a hasty close, omitting the

sacrament, as soon as the new crown, heavy with gems—which he had had made for himself, rather than wear the Saxon diadem—was placed on his head.

Yet this tumultuous day, so full of evil omens for the Saxon people, brought no disaster to the Abbey. Abbot Edwin showed his wisdom in winning the favour of the new Sovereign. William set his heart on possessing Windsor, "being very convenient by reason of the pureness of the air, the pleasantness of the situation, and its neighbourhood to wood and waters." The place had been granted to the Abbots of Westminter by the Confessor, but Edwin, making a virtue of necessity, exchanged the coveted estate for some lands in Surrey and Essex. In return for Edwin's compliance, William confirmed* all the Confessor's grants, and for long a record of Windsor's connection with the Abbey remained in the solid shape of two bucks, sent yearly from the Royal forest to the abbot on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. Nor was the memory of the saintly founder allowed to fade, for William gave a rich pall to cover the plain stone tomb which had been raised over the Confessor's grave, besides an altar-cloth and two caskets of gold for the altar. He also used to attend mass "most diligently, and with the simplicity of a child, and would never permit himself to be hindered from so doing by the most urgent or perplexing business; and while so engaged he did never cease to bend his knees and pray devoutly."

Two years after William's own coronation his Queen-Consort Matilda received her crown from the hands of Aldred, Archbishop of York, on Whit-Sunday, 1068, in the Abbey, but no ceremony attended the first Norman Queen's coronation.

The pious Edwin lived on for several years after the Conquest, while all around him Saxon Churchmen had to give way to the haughty Normans; one bishop, Egelric of Durham, was deposed, and actually given over to the custody of his countryman, the Abbot of Westminster. Here, by "fasting and tears, the bishop so purged away

* The first charter, granted by William to the Abbey in 1067 and still preserved, is said to be a later forgery, but the offerings enumerated are no doubt genuine, as were his benefits to the monastery.

THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.
(*See p.* 13.)

THE LEGEND OF WULSTAN'S STAFF.
(*See p.* 16.)

his former crimes" as to acquire a reputation for sanctity, and seventy years after his burial (1071) in the Abbey his grave was still visited by pilgrims. That Abbot Edwin himself died before 1072 is shown by the signature of the new abbot to a deed in that year; but the usual date (1068) accepted by the chroniclers as that of his death is shown to be incorrect by Edwin's name on a charter compiled after 1070. Edwin, the last Saxon abbot, was buried, as were most of his Norman successors, in the cloisters; and when the Confessor's church was rebuilt, under Henry III., peculiar honour was paid to Edwin's body, which was placed in a white marble tomb near the chapter house; over it was laid a rich carpet worked with gold and covered with silk, which was extant four centuries after Edwin's death, in the time of the chronicler Flete.

The first Norman abbot, one Geoffrey, came from Jumièges, and proved an unfortunate choice, for he was deposed after four years by Archbishop Lanfranc. During his time the body of the Lady Edith was laid beside her husband's tomb near the high altar. Edith seems never to have won the Confessor's love or confidence, though she is spoken of as a most saintly and virtuous woman, "a rose growing from a prickly briar"—the rough Godwin stock.

After eight years of widowhood Edith passed away (1073) at Winchester, where she had lived ever since her husband's death.

A year later one of the Confessor's Saxon bishops and friends, Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, was summoned before a council of Norman prelates and ecclesiastics at Westminster, charged with unfitness for his post, "a very idiot, unacquainted with the French language, and incapable either to instruct the Church or counsel the King." This, the first of many other ecclesiastical synods, was held in St. Catherine's Chapel, a building to the east of the monastery, which was part of the monks' infirmary: a few of its arches still remain in the garden of one of the Canon's houses in Little Cloisters. Roger of Wendover graphically describes the scene when the undaunted prelate stood before the haughty primate Lanfranc

and refused to yield his rights to any save to the dead Saxon king.

"Lanfranc, among other decrees of the Council, commanded the man of God Wulstan to resign his staff and ring. But that servant of the Lord underwent no change either of look or feeling, but stood up and, holding out his pastoral staff: 'Truly, my lord bishop,' said he, 'I know that I am not worthy of this high honour, nor sufficient for the discharge of its labours and duties. You claim from me the pastoral staff, which it was not you who gave me; yet, in deference to your judgment, I resign it, though not to you, but rather to St. Edward, by whose authority I received it.' With these words he rose and, followed by his attendants, approached the marble monument where the remains of the glorious King were entombed. 'Blessed King Edward,' said he (in Saxon), 'thou knowest how reluctantly I undertook this burden, and absented myself when I was summoned. I acknowledge that I acted unwisely, but it was thou who didst compel me. For though there was no fault in the election of the monks, in the petition of the people, or in the goodwill and favour of the bishops and prelates, yet thy authority and will preponderated over all these motives; but now we have a new king, a new law, and a new archbishop promulgates new theories. They accuse thee of error in having made me a bishop, and me of presumption for having assented. I therefore resign my pastoral staff—not to those who demand back what they did not give—but to thee who didst give it me I resign the charge of those whom thou didst entrust to my care. With these words he raised his arm slowly and struck the staff into the stone by which the saint's body was covered. 'Receive, my lord the King,' continued he; 'and give it to whomsoever thou mayst choose.' So saying, he left the altar, threw off his episcopal robes, and sat down like a simple monk among the monastic brethren.

"All were lost in astonishment at seeing the pastoral staff sink into the stone, where, as if it formed part of the marble itself, it stood erect, and turned neither to the right hand nor to the left. Some of those who were present tried to pull it out, but it remained im-

movable. The story was carried before the synod, but Lanfranc, refusing to listen to it, sent Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, to go to the tomb, and bring before the Council the staff which Wulstan placed on it. In obedience to this command Gundulf endeavoured to pull out the staff, but the virtues of Wulstan had fixed it too firmly, and he could not draw it out. Then Lanfranc, in astonishment at so unwonted an occurrence, hastened, in company with the King, to the tomb. When he came there he offered up a prayer, and putting his hand to the staff, tried to pull it out, but the attempt was ineffectual. The King exclaimed aloud ; the archbishop was distressed ; they acknowledged that St. Edward had not done wrong in promoting Wulstan, and Lanfranc, approaching the bishop, said to him : '. . . Come, my brother, approach to your pastoral staff, for we have no doubt that the saintly hand of the King who hath withheld it from us will resign it easily to you.' The holy Bishop Wulstan, hearing these words, following the bent of his simple-mindedness, implicity did as he was told, and approaching the tomb, said : 'Behold ! my lord and King, I commit myself to thy judgment, and resign into thy hands the staff which thou gavest me. Wherefore I pray thee now to give thy decision. Thou hast preserved thy dignity and established my innocence ; if, then, thou still hast the same opinion of me, confirm thy former sentence, give me back my staff ; or, if thy opinion is altered, show to whom it shall be given.' With these words the saint tried to take the staff, but it anticipated his wishes, and yielded to his hand as if it had been stuck in clay. The King and archbishop ran up to him, and on their knees begged his forgiveness, commending themselves to the prayers of the saint ; but he, who had learned from the Lord to be mild and humble in heart, threw himself in his turn upon his knees."

Two centuries later King John is said to have used this story when proving to the legate of Innocent III. the right of English kings to nominate bishops.

CHAPTER III.

NORMAN KINGS AND NORMAN ABBOTS.

On Geoffrey's deposition (1076), the Conqueror took great pains to choose a suitable abbot, writing with his own hand to the abbot of Fécamp, in order to ask his advice about Vitalis, Abbot of Bernay, whom he had heard spoken of as a wise and prudent man. Vitalis had raised the cell of Bernay from a small and struggling place into a flourishing abbey, and for nine uneventful years he used his talents as an administrator wisely and well at Westminster. During his time Sulcardus, the "best pen they had belonging to the Abbey," a monk much esteemed by the Confessor and Abbot Edwin, wrote a chronicle of Westminster, dedicated to Vitalis, whom he calls "a venerable man, and always a servant of God." His history was unfortunately of little use to future chroniclers, as it was not only very short, but most of it concerned with the fabulous legend of St. Peter's consecration of the Abbey church.

Vitalis was succeeded by another Norman abbot, placed here by Lanfranc's influence, Gilbert Crispin, who belonged to an old Norman family, his ancestors having been "of nearest place in the councils of the Dukes of Normandy." He also had travelled much in France and Italy while a monk at Bec, and was a more learned man than either of his predecessors. Crispin had only been abbot two years when the first Norman king died, and his son, the turbulent Rufus, received his crown from the hands of Lanfranc, on the 27th September, in Westminster Abbey, the one surviving Saxon bishop, Wulstan, taking part in the ceremony. The Conqueror was buried in his own church at Caen, and in fact no other royal interment, except that of Henry I.'s Queen, took place in the Abbey for another two centuries.

The hand of the Red King weighed heavily upon Church and laity alike, and the Westminster monks assembled in the Chapter House early in his reign to consider how to avoid his heavy taxes. Fortunately for them their abbot was favoured by the King, who, partly through Lanfranc's intercession, partly on account of "the love which he bore Gilbert," granted them a new charter of liberties at a Council he held at Westminster.

The old order had now quite passed away, and Norman monks had taken the places of the Saxon, yet the reverence for Edward the Confessor's tomb grew year by year. In 1098 a dispute arose in the convent about the preservation of Edward's body. Some said his corpse had crumbled away in the natural course of time; others maintained the incorruptibility of the Virgin King. The abbot therefore decided to open the coffin, which he did on an appointed day in the presence of a number of ecclesiastics, amongst them Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester. Alured of Rievaulx has described how, on opening the sepulchre, "there issued out such aromatic odours as filled the church with their fragrance. In the first place the burial clothes were clean and substantial; next, unfolding his vestments, they found his under habit and ornaments in the same state. They stretched out his arms, bent his fingers, and found the whole body sound and flexible; they next examined the flesh, which was firm and pure as crystal, whiter than snow. But when, after a long suspense, none durst venture to touch his face, the Bishop Gundulphus laid his hand upon the forehead cloth, and stroking it over his face, drew it over the beard, which was as white as frost. Surprised at this, he attempted to draw a hair from the beard, but that adhered strictly. For which, being gently reproved by the abbot, he owned his fault, which excess of love occasioned. After this they preserved the grave dresses, and clothing him anew, re-interred him." Another authority places the date of this in 1102, and describes the skin as white and rosy.

When Tyrrel's arrow ended Rufus's thirteen years' oppression of the English nation, his brother Henry hastened to Westminster Abbey, where, while the body

of the late King lay unburied in a charcoal burner's hut, the new Sovereign-elect claimed the homage of the nobles and the consecration of his claims by the prelates. Hurried preparations were made for the coronation, "the present providing of good swords" being considered more important than the pomp of pageants and gay clothes, which were looked on "as not only useless, but dangerous, speed being safest to supply the vacancy to the throne." Eleven days were spent in arranging compacts and exacting promises from the new king, Henry promising everything except the cession of the forests of game bequeathed him by his father, so long a source of ill-feeling between the Norman kings and their subjects. Finally, the actual coronation took place on the 5th of August, the Bishop of London performing the ceremony, in the place of Archbishop Anselm, who was absent.

In the eyes of his subjects, Henry's marriage was a much more important occasion than his coronation, for by his union with the great grand-daughter of Edmund Ironsides the Saxon and Norman races were united and their years of bitter strife healed. But his marriage could not take place till various scruples had been overcome. Matilda had, on the death of her father, Malcolm Canmore of Scotland, taken refuge in an English convent, where her aunt, the abbess, had forced the unwilling girl to take the veil. But a synod of ecclesiastics absolved her from her vows; and when her own consent, unaccountably delayed since she and Henry had been in love with one another for some time, had been won, the marriage and her coronation were fixed for Sunday, November 11th.

On that day vast crowds of both races assembled in and about the Abbey, and before the wedding took place Archbishop Anselm, ascending the pulpit, announced the decision of the synod to the people, and asked their consent to the marriage, which was given with loud acclamations. The double ceremony then proceeded, Matilda's blushes, we are told, outvieing the colour of her crimson robe. She was the first Queen Consort whose influence was distinctly felt in the country. By her persuasions Henry granted various privileges to his subjects, and she built,

from her private purse, many bridges and caused good roads to be made. To the Abbey her devotion was especially marked ; she and the King both gave lead for the roof, the first recorded royal gifts to the fabric since the Confessor's time. Every day in Lent she would walk barefoot and clothed in haircloth from the new palace built by William Rufus close by to the Abbey, where she would say her prayers, and wash and kiss the feet of beggars. She also gave part of the hair of St. Mary Magdalene to be placed among the relics.

Matilda died (May 1st, 1118) at Westminster, and was buried first in the old Chapter House, but her coffin was afterwards removed to St. Edward's Chapel, like that of her kinswoman and namesake Edith (her own name having been changed to Matilda to please her Norman subjects). Her death took place a year after Crispin's, during whose time the only recorded burials in the Abbey precincts were those of the Norman warrior, Geoffrey de Mandeville, who granted the cell of Henley, still a chapter living, to the Abbey, and his first wife Athelais. On the 19th of September, 1115, the first consecration of a bishop was held in the Abbey, Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, being consecrated here on purpose to please Matilda, who desired to see the ceremony.

On December 6th, 1117, the old abbot died, and was buried in the south cloister, where his epitaph long recorded his learning ; during his abbacy he wrote several treatises, some of which are still extant in the British Museum.

After Crispin's death an interregnum of nearly five years took place, during which the King received the profits of the monastery. At last, however, Herbert, the almoner, was elected, probably by royal influence. King and abbot were on very good terms, and Herbert won various privileges for the monastery.

Herbert is chiefly remembered in monastic annals as the founder of Kilburn Nunnery, a cell attached to the Abbey, and dissolved with the rest by Henry VIII., the first nuns being three of Matilda's maids-of-honour. For two hundred years disputes raged between the Abbot of Westminster and the Bishop of London as to their re-

spective rights over Kilburn—disputes settled at last in favour of the abbot.

While Herbert was abbot, Stephen was crowned in the Abbey on the 26th of December, 1135, a day of bad omens and disaster; for Archbishop Curbellis, who crowned Stephen, and thus broke his oath of fealty to the Empress Maude, died before a year was out, and it is said that the other magnates who were present all perished miserably. Stephen's reign brought disaster also to the monastery, for on the death of Herbert (1140) the King compelled the monks to elect Gervase de Blois, his natural son, to the sacred post of abbot. Gervase wasted the wealth of the monastery on his own entertainments, lavishing hospitality and leading a very ill life. He disposed of some of the estates, including Chelchethe (Chelsea), to his mother, Dameta. When he confiscated some of the jewels belonging to the altar and to the relics, and prepared to lay hands on the regalia, the monks rebelled, and petitioned Pope Innocent II., who admonished him in a bull. But he continued his evil ways, and expelled many of the monks. After about nineteen years of tyranny, he was deprived of his post, and died the following year (1160), leaving an empty treasury for his successor. A new King—Henry II.—had meantime (he was crowned December 19th, 1154) taken the place of the feeble Stephen. The chroniclers speak vaguely of 1159 or thereabouts as the year of the next abbot's appointment.

Laurence, a learned monk of St. Albans, was elected, and at once proceeded to restore the Abbey to its former position. He found even the abbot's house absolutely bare of furniture, and not a single one of the many rich church vestments left. By his influence with the King and the Empress Maude he recovered some of the Abbey lands in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, which had been seized by Stephen, and also obtained a grant of money from Henry, with which to rebuild part of the monastic offices which had been burnt down in Gervase's time.

As soon as Laurence had thus settled his domestic affairs, he determined to carry out an idea inaugurated

PLACING THE BODY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR IN THE NEW SHRINE.
(*See p.* 24.)

THE NEW SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, AS COMPLETED.
(*See p.* 24.)

by his unworthy predecessor—the canonisation of Edward the Confessor. The added importance and riches which the monastery would acquire did it possess the body of a real saint within its walls were no doubt the chief motives which had prompted Gervase in his attempt to obtain the canonisation from the Pope (Hadrian IV.). The embassy sent by Gervase to Rome had failed in its object, chiefly because the abbot had neither money nor influence to back up his request.

In the century which followed Edward's death a halo of sanctity had gathered about his name ; miracles, such as that of Wulstan's successful appeal to his late master, had been worked at his tomb, and the Norman kings and abbots alike had, from different motives, encouraged the reverence paid to the memory of the last Saxon King. Laurence doubtless felt that he must make a special effort to restore the monastery to its former influence and importance. The acquisition of a new saint would save his house from impending ruin. He therefore preached a public sermon in the Abbey in the presence of the King and the nobility, not, as on ordinary occasions, to a small congregation of monks. The sermon was a studied eulogy of the life of Edward the Confessor, and Flete records from early documents that Laurence made a moving appeal to all present not to allow such a "precious treasure" as the body of the Saintly Confessor to be any longer concealed obscurely in the earth.

With one voice, King and congregation prayed the abbot to no longer hide "so glorious a light from the world," and we may take it for granted that the money which Laurence required to accomplish his object was provided by the devout worshippers. The Prior Osbert de Clare, "a man of extraordinary learning," who had been sent on the same mission by Gervase, was therefore despatched again to Rome bearing a list of the Confessor's miracles. The new Pope, Alexander III., who was always very friendly to Laurence, granted his request, which was strongly backed up by Henry II., and made doubly pressing by means of large sums of money. While the necessary formalities for the Bull of Canonisation proceeded, Henry, with Becket's approval, prepared

a costly shrine before the high altar, into which the new saint's body, found to be still "uncorrupted," was solemnly transferred at midnight, October 13th, 1163, a day kept henceforth as Edward's special feast. There is an illumination representing the ceremony in the Norman-French Life of the Confessor at Cambridge, in which the King and Archbishop, the famous Thomas à Becket, are shown bending over the body, which is being placed in the new shrine by two mitred ecclesiastics, one of whom is possibly meant for Laurence, though he did not obtain the mitre during his life. Laurence himself drew the sacred ring of St. John off the saint's finger and placed it among the relics : he also caused three embroidered copes to be made out of the burial clothes, which were replaced by others.

Another illumination shows the shrine completed. Upon it are statues of St. John the Evangelist, in a pilgrim's garb, and St. Edward, made in ivory and gold, one a gift from Becket, while pilgrims creep into a niche beneath to be healed by contact with the saint's coffin. A monk stands by, reading from a book. This was no doubt intended to represent the new Life of Edward the Confessor, which had been written at the request of Henry by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, under Laurence's direction, and was solemnly presented to the King on the day of the translation. Though these illuminations were not done till the reign of Henry III., yet the writer could have seen the old shrine before it was destroyed.

Laurence kept up a close connection between Westminster and St. Albans, the home of his monastic education. Matthew Paris accuses him of wrongfully detaining some lands belonging to that Abbey, and vexing the abbot by frequent suits. He certainly borrowed £200 from Abbot Robert de Gorham "in horses, furniture, vestments, etc.," when he first succeeded to his position at Westminster, and is said to have given shelter to the runaway Prior Algamus from St. Albans, who eventually became Prior of Westminster. But whatever truth there is in these reports, it is certain that Laurence gave his friend the Abbot of St. Albans the last sacrament on his deathbed in November, 1166, and attended his funeral.

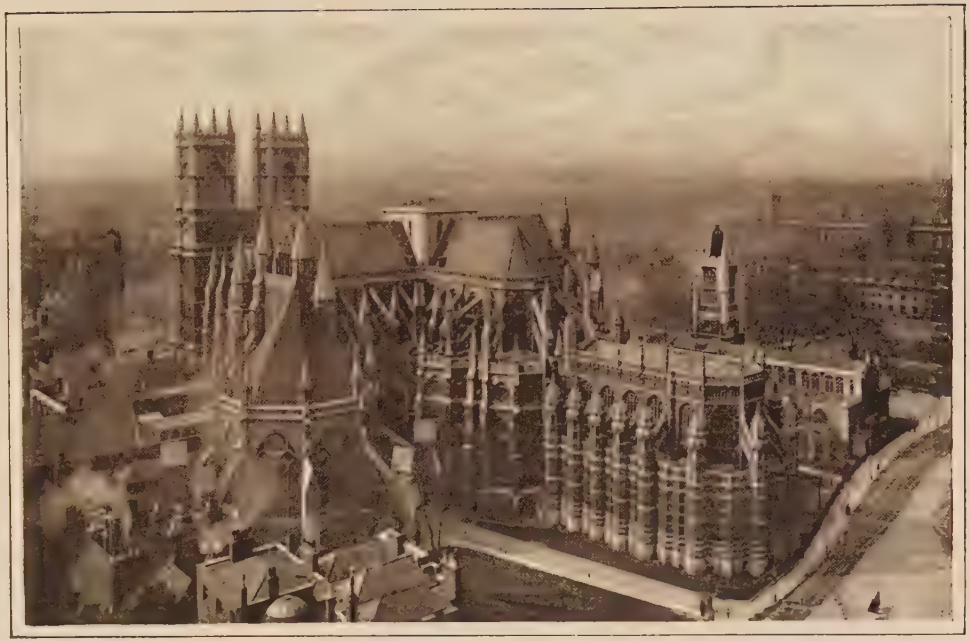
Once more Laurence became a successful suitor at the Court of Rome. This was towards the end of his life, when he sent an embassy to the Pope to request the right to wear the mitre, ring, and gloves. He died (April 11th, 1175), however, before his messengers returned with the Pope's consent, and his successor, Abbot Walter, is therefore, strictly speaking, the first mitred Abbot of Westminster. Laurence was buried in the South Cloister, with a curious epitaph in which the laurel wreath, whence his name Laurentius was derived, is claimed as a reward for his deserving life and benefits to the monastery.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE NORMAN CHURCH, AND THE FIRST ENGLISH KING.

Henry II., desiring to give a proof of his royal authority to the arrogant ecclesiastics of his day, sent for the priors of ten abbeys, which were all vacant in 1175, to appear before him at Woodstock, and obliged them each to nominate for election as abbot a monk from another monastery. Laurence's successor, Walter, came from Winchester, where he had been prior for five years. The first time he wore the mitre proved disastrous. It was at a synod of bishops held in St. Catherine's Chapel in 1176, soon after his election. Walter appeared wearing the full insignia of a mitred abbot, having obtained permission from Pope Alexander to add the use of the dalmatic, tunic and sandals, with the pall for burial. Unfortunately, however, for his new dignity, he offended the Pope's Legate, who did not consider that the Abbey gave him a proper reception, and who suspended the abbot from the use of the mitre, while the Prior Postard was forbidden to enter the choir for a stated time.

At this synod the famous quarrel—a quarrel which had raged since the coronation of Henry's eldest son in 1170—between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York on the question of precedence, culminated in a scandalous scene. Fuller and Holinshed give most amusing accounts of the Primates' strife. Richard of Canterbury had arrived first and seated himself on the Legate's right hand, "when in springs Roger of York, and finding Canterburie so seated, fairly sits him down in Canterburie's lap (a baby too big to be dandled thereon)," meaning really to thrust himself between the Legate and his rival Primate. Scarcely, however, had he touched the Archbishop's skirt, than the surrounding bishops, with their servants, rushed



THE ABBEY, FROM THE VICTORIA TOWER.

PHOTOGRAPH BY CASSELL & CO., LTD.

THE CLOISTERS.

upon him, dragged him off, and beat him well with sticks and fists, Canterbury returning good for evil and vainly attempting to protect him. Roger rushed from the assembly pursued by cries of "Go, traitor, that did betray that holy man Thomas (à Becket); go, get thee hence, thy hands yet stink of blood." Henry was hearing Mass in the Abbey when the fiery Northern Primate appeared before him, with rent and disordered vestments, demanding reparation; but when the King heard what had taken place he only laughed, and that was all the remedy Roger of York got from King or Legate.

In 1182 another turbulent scene took place at Westminster, when Baldwin was elected Archbishop of Canterbury by the Royal party in opposition to the Canterbury monks, and his supporters rushed with him into the Abbey, where a Te Deum service was being held; he was kissed before the high altar and returned to the King, who was waiting in the Chapter House, as formally elected. Nine years later Baldwin held his last synod at Westminster in order to bid farewell before he went to the Holy Land, where he died.

Meantime Henry II. had died at Chinon, cursing his quarrelsome sons with his last breath, and on the 3rd of September, 1189, Richard I. was crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Baldwin, assisted by the Primates of Rouen, Tours, and Dublin. As this is the first coronation of which we have a detailed account, the following extract from the chronicle of de Hovenden is of interest:—

From the door of the Palace to the Abbey the ground was covered with woollen cloth, upon which the long procession of ecclesiastics and nobles walked to the ceremony with lighted tapers, censers, and bells ringing.

"When the Duke had come to the altar, in the presence of the Archbishops, bishops, clergy, and people, kneeling before the altar with the Holy Evangelists placed before him, and many relics of the saints, according to custom, he swore that he would all the days of his life observe peace, honour, and reverence towards God, the Holy Church, and its ordinances. He also swore that he would abrogate bad laws and unjust customs, if any such had been introduced into his kingdom, and would enact

good laws and observe the same without fraud and evil intent. After this they took off all his clothes from the waist upwards, except his shirt and breeches, his shirt having been previously separated over the shoulders, after which they shod him with sandals embroidered with gold. Then Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, pouring holy oil upon his head, anointed him King in three places, on his head, breast, and arms — which signifies glory, valour, and knowledge — with suitable prayers for the occasion, after which the said Archbishop placed a consecrated linen cloth on his head, and upon that the cap which Geoffrey de Lucy had carried. They then clothed him in the Royal robes, first a tunic, and next a dalmatic, after which the said Archbishop delivered to him the sword of rule with which to crush evildoers against the Church. This done, two earls placed the spurs upon his feet which John (the) Marshal had carried. After this, being robed in a mantle, he was led to the altar, where the said Archbishop forbade him in the name of Almighty God to presume to take upon him this dignity, unless he had the full intention inviolably to observe the oaths and vows before mentioned which he had made, to which he made answer that with God's assistance he would, without reservation, observe them all. After this, he himself took the crown from the altar and gave it to the Archbishop, on which the Archbishop delivered it to him and placed it upon his head, it being supported by two earls in consequence of its extreme weight. After this the Archbishop delivered to him the sceptre to hold in his right hand, while he held the rod of Royalty in his left, and having been thus crowned, the King was led back to his seat by the before-named Bishops of Durham and Bath, preceded by the taper bearers and the three swords before mentioned. After this the Mass of our Lord was commenced, and when they came to the offertory the before-named bishops led him to the altar, where he offered one mark of the purest gold, such being the proper offering for the King at each coronation."

After the ceremony the King put on a lighter crown and robes, and went to the usual banquet in Westminster Hall. The day, however, was one of ill omen. Richard

of Devizes has recorded how "a bat was seen in the middle and bright part of the day to flutter through the monastery inconveniently circling in the same tracks, and especially around the King's throne." He tells of another evil augury of such portentous omen, that it was "hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper," for the Abbey bells rang a peal about midnight without the knowledge of the Abbey clergy. Worst of all, however, to modern ideas was a massacre of the Jews in London and all over the country. The Jews had been forbidden to attend the coronation for fear of enchantments; but some crept into Westminster Hall, were discovered and badly beaten. This was the signal for a general rising against them.

Two years later (September 27th, 1191) Abbot Walter died, leaving the profits of the Manor of Paddington to be spent in a very costly and pompous anniversary for himself. He, like his predecessors, lies in the Cloisters.

Richard was absent on a crusade when Walter died, but the monks elected the Prior Postard unanimously, before the Lords Justices instead of before the King, on the 9th October, 1191. He was installed by the Bishop of London the following Sunday, and a grand dinner was afterwards given in the Refectory. Under his rule the monastery was happy in having no history, for he gave himself up to its internal government, instead of seeking to add to its renown or wealth, and paid off a debt of £1,500 owing under Walter.

The coronation of John, which took place on Ascension Day, 1199, passed off without any remarkable incident, and the new King returned to Normandy immediately afterwards. On the death of Postard (1200) John sent for the prior and monks to Northampton, where, on November 30th, 1200, they elected one of their own monks, Ralph Papillon of Arundel, a considerable person and famous preacher. He had been a favourite of Abbot Laurence's, and had been appointed by him Prior of Henley, one of the four "cells" attached to Westminster. All the chief Benedictine houses had "cells," or small monasteries under their jurisdiction, whence the most promising young monks were drafted to the mother house,

and where refractory brethren were often exiled. They were, in fact, like colonies. Henley, Great Malvern, St. Bartholomew's, and Sudbury were amongst the cells attached to Westminster.

Papillon was almoner of Westminster, and was reputed to be studious and industrious when elected, but his head seems to have been turned by his new dignity. He governed the convent with a high hand, and had perpetual quarrels with the monks as well as with his Sovereign. Finally, when the King and Pope were once more at amity, the Legate came over to inquire into Papillon's conduct, just after Michaelmas, in 1213. He heard the complaints against Papillon, who was accused of leading an evil life, as well as of neglecting the repairs of the monastic buildings, and after going into the country to depose two other abbots, he returned and pronounced sentence against the Abbot of Westminster. The official seal was publicly broken in the Chapter House, and Papillon degraded fourteen days later (January 14th, 1214). Thirty-nine years had passed since the death of his patron Laurence, so Papillon must have been already an old man. But he survived sixteen years after his disgrace, and whether on account of his previous character and eloquence, or because the charges against him were known to be unfair, he was the first abbot buried inside the church.

His successor, William de Humez, the last of the Norman abbots, belonged to a good Norman family, two of his relations having been Constables of Normandy, while he himself was originally a monk at the Conqueror's Abbey of St. Stephen's, Caen, whence he was made Prior of Frampton, Dorset, then a cell belonging to Caen. Humez was a favourite with King John, and was appointed Abbot of Westminster by Pandulph, the Pope's Legate, on the deprivation of Papillon, without seeking election by the monks—a proceeding hitherto without precedent or parallel at Westminster. The same year Humez was sent on an embassy to France, and was thus the first of the many Westminster abbots who were employed as ambassadors by the English kings.

The next year, 1215, the abbot again went abroad,

this time to attend the fourth Lateran Council held by Innocent III. at Rome.

The disastrous reign of King John ended in clouds and gloom. London itself was in the hands of the French Dauphin at the time of his death, and the boy king, Henry III. had to be hastily crowned at Gloucester Abbey (October 28th, 1216) with a simple chaplet, for the crown and the rest of the regalia had been lost in the Wash.

Westminster Abbey was now, however, prosperous, and peace reigned within its walls, while the kingdom outside was rent in twain. It was the fashion of the day to build chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary at the east end of churches, and Humez determined to add a chapel to the monastery church "in honour of the Blessed Virgin." By promises of spiritual benefits to all who would give money and lands towards the building, Humez was able to carry out his project. According to some writers, Henry himself laid the foundation stone of the Lady Chapel on Whitsun Eve, but others affirm that the fabric was then so far completed that it was consecrated in Whitsun week, and that Henry placed his spurs as an offering upon the new altar.

A more formal coronation was necessary to consolidate the young King's title. He was therefore crowned like his ancestors at Westminster on Whit Sunday, May 17th, 1220, by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all the usual ceremonies—the last of the kings to be crowned in the Norman church.

The round massive arches and small windows so admired when the Confessor built his monastery were becoming out of date, and the Pointed Early English style was gradually replacing the Norman. It was no doubt the contrast between the light Lady Chapel, built in the new mode, with the dark old church which first inspired Henry with a desire to reconstruct the whole Abbey. But twenty-five years were yet to pass before the King had leisure to turn his attention from State to Church, and nearly as much again before any part of his project was completed.

Before Humez died a very important matter was settled, *i.e.* the exemption of the monastery from the

jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Fauconbridge, who was consecrated Bishop of London at Westminster in 1220, began at once to quarrel with the abbot. He claimed all kinds of rights over the monastery, amongst others that of visiting it, and requiring to be met with a solemn procession on his arrival, also of ordaining the monks and consecrating chapels. Humez stoutly resisted ; every charter and document, whether forged or genuine, was collected by the monks to prove that the exemption had been granted, not only by the Confessor, but long before by Dunstan, and both parties appealed to the Pope. A Council of ecclesiastics tried the cause, and being utterly ignorant of ancient documents, though versed in canon law, they believed in all the charters brought forward by the Westminster monks, and eventually gave judgment in their favour. Henceforth the Abbey was free from a bishop's jurisdiction, and it was pronounced subject only to the Pope's authority. Over 600 years have passed since that decision, yet the church has only once been a cathedral in a true sense, *i.e.* under the rule of a bishop, when for a brief period in the reign of Henry VIII. there was a Bishop of Westminster. Now that the authority of the Pope is no longer recognised in the English Church, the dean has sole jurisdiction at the Abbey, subject only to the Sovereign.

The bishop was compensated for the loss of his authority over Westminster by a grant of lands from the monastery. The manor of Sudbury, which had been granted to the ex-Abbot Papillon for his maintenance, was taken from him (he probably received a pension instead) and given to the bishop ; while the church there was handed over to the chapter of St. Paul's.

Humez died on the 20th of April, 1222, and was laid in the Cloisters. The stone marked " Vitalis " is probably his.

As was now the almost invariable custom at Westminster, the monks elected one of their own body, the Prior Richard de Berkyng, to succeed Humez. He received the benediction on September the 18th from the Bishop of Winchester, instead of the Bishop of London, on account of the feud between the latter and the convent.

In the very first days of his abbacy Berkyng nearly lost his life in a turbulent scene which took place at Westminster. Matthew Paris has given a lively account of the fray: "On St. James's Day the citizens of London and suburbians kept sports of manhood, as wrestling, etc., near Queen Matilda's Hospital, at which place the citizens gained the better, whereupon the Bailiff of Westminster appointed another trial of skill to be on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1st) at Westminster . . . at the Hospital of St. James, whither the citizens repaired. After playing for some time the bailiff and others, being privately armed, fell to fighting, and wounded several of the citizens, who, running into the city, rang the common bell, assembling the citizens, who all resolved to revenge the fact. But Serle, the Mayor of London, being a sober and prudent man, advised them to apply themselves to the abbot, and if he would punish the offenders and secure the city satisfaction it would be sufficient. But one Constantine Fitz Arnulf, being a hot, fiery man, advised them to hear no proposals, but instantly to revenge themselves by pulling down the abbot's and bailiff's houses. Upon which word given they all rush out of the city with a horrid uproar, pulling down many houses, and crying: 'Constantine, the Joy of the Mountain! the Joy of the Mountain! God assist us and our Lord Lodovick!' (Louis, the French Dauphin). Berkyng, upon this, a few days after, goes into the city to Philip Dawbeney, one of the King's Council, to make complaint of these injuries. Of which the citizens having intelligence, surrounded the house, took away twelve of the abbot's horses, and beat his men unmercifully. Dawbeney endeavoured, but to no purpose, to pacify them; while he was intent upon which the abbot got out at a back door of the house, and made his way to the Thames, where, taking boat, he with much difficulty escaped their hands, who followed and threw stones at him in great abundance. Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justice, hearing this, came to the Tower and sent for the mayor, and inquired into the authors of the tumult; upon which Constantine and two others were hanged, the first offering 1,500 marks for his life, but to

no purpose. And then the Justice, entering the city, after a barbarous manner caused the feet or hands of the offenders to be cut off."

Although all possible atonement was thus made to the abbot, yet the ill-feeling between the cities of London and Westminster remained for years, and there were constant small lawsuits and feuds. The abbots used to obtain certain privileges over the city of London from the Sovereign, which caused friction, and in one instance Simon de Montfort interfered and obliged the abbot to give up some privilege he had won from the King, but the abbot's claim was again allowed after Montfort's fall at Evesham.

Berkyng was very active in politics as well as in the internal affairs of the monastery, and was high in favour with Henry III. Although the actual building of the new church was not begun till the last year of his life, there is no doubt that his influence over the King led to that mighty scheme for which Henry had been making preparations for a long while. Berkyng's name is prominent in State affairs. He was one of the witnesses to Magna Charta, a Privy Councillor, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and finally Lord Treasurer; also one of the Lords Justices for the kingdom during Henry's absence in the Welsh wars in 1245. He got another and still fuller charter of liberties, called the "Great Charter," from the King for his monastery, and from the Pope the privilege of giving the solemn Benediction to the people, like the Pontiff himself in his own St. Peter's, and also the power of giving the first tonsure to the monks who took orders, a prerogative usually only exercised by bishops. He used his influence, however, chiefly with the desire of benefiting his house, and saw that the Confessor was honoured by more magnificent festivals than ever before.

Under Berkyng the monks made use of the legend about St. Peter and the tithe of salmon in a court of law, and obliged the Rector of Rotherhithe to pay them half of their full tithe of fish, claiming jurisdiction over the fish from Staines to below Gravesend. When later on salmon grew scarce in the Thames, the monks accounted

for the scarcity by attributing it to St. Peter, who thus, they said, revenged himself on the fishermen for the many times he had been cheated of his just due. The custom was observed as late as 1382, and Flete gives the regulations about the reception of the tithe. The sacrist received half the head and three fingers from the body of the salmon, in return for which he gave the fishermen a candle weighing one pound. The fish, when cooked, was carried to a table in the midst of the great refectory, and all the monks were obliged to rise from their seats to honour its arrival. The fishermen who brought it were seated and entertained at the prior's table, the cellarer giving them each a loaf as they left. The cellarer himself had a right to one finger's breadth and one thumb's length from the tail of the fish.

Berkyng himself, "learned, discreet, and just" man as he was, was not above an occasional quarrel on behalf of his house, notably with the turbulent Bishop Robert of Lincoln, but his government of the internal affairs of the monastery was cited long after by the chroniclers as an example to succeeding abbots, and by his careful management he added three hundred marks to the revenue. He had also the great quality of collecting superior men round him. Two of his monks, both priors of the cell of Henley, were sent on political missions abroad by the King. One of them—Richard de Grasse—was made Abbot of Evesham and promoted to the great seal, but died (1243) in France just before his consecration to the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry.

Berkyng took part as abbot in the coronation of Queen Eleanor of Provence, which was celebrated on the 20th of January, 1236, with great magnificence. Year by year Henry's attachment to Westminster had been growing, and he offered many costly jewels to St. Edward's shrine, besides a small gold statue of the Queen on their marriage (which took place at Canterbury), and as precious a mitre as his Keeper of the Exchequer could find in the city for the abbot's use in the last year of Berkyng's life. Queen Eleanor herself presented an alb and stole covered with jewels, and cloths of gold and silk were continually added to the shrine by Henry and his relatives. When in 1239

the King's eldest son was born at Westminster Palace, Henry marked his reverence for the Confessor by naming him Edward. He was baptised by the Legate Otho in the Abbey, and borne to the font by the chief dignitaries of the kingdom, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Henry's brother, and the great Simon de Montfort amongst them. Edward I. was thus the first King since the Norman Conquest with a genuine English name. Henry still further marked the national feeling which distinguishes his reign from those of his Norman-French predecessors, by calling his second son after Edmund, the Saxon King and martyr.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW CHURCH OF HENRY III.

To the Confessor's piety we owe the beautiful Abbey, which is still the pride of the whole British nation, since it was the reverence felt by Henry III. for the sainted King which led him to construct a more stately sanctuary for his body than the dark church where it had rested the past two hundred years. To destroy the very building which had been raised at such immense trouble and cost by Edward himself seems, perhaps, a strange mode of honouring that king's memory. But Henry, who was much attracted by the Pointed style of architecture, determined to honour God and two saints, St. Peter and St. Edward, by a new and magnificent church, which should surpass the old even as the Confessor's Norman building had surpassed the ruined Saxon monastery.

For long the King brooded over his ambitious project, and prepared the means to carry out his end. Nowadays, with the Abbey before our eyes as a lasting memorial of Henry's piety, we can forgive the Royal builder's sins. But in his day the English people groaned beneath the weight of additional taxes, imposed in order to collect the necessary funds, and money was also shamelessly and often cruelly extorted from the unwilling Jews, to whom no spiritual benefits could be promised. Abbot Berkyng, as Humez had done before when building the Lady Chapel, offered indulgences to all who would contribute to the pious work.

The first step taken was the construction of a more magnificent shrine than that given by Henry II. for the remains of the saint. This was begun in 1241, while the old church yet stood, probably before Henry's final decision to destroy it had taken shape. Special workmen were chosen to make the new shrine, the purest gold

and the best jewels were used, yet, costly as were the materials, the exquisite workmanship far exceeded them. Scarcely two years after this precious tomb was ordered, Henry, being as usual in want of funds on account of his spendthrift habits, was actually forced to make free with the jewels and treasure that had been offered to the Confessor and pawn them. He wanted the money to equip his expedition to Bordeaux.

By the next year Henry's affairs were prosperous again, and he not only restored the jewels, but atoned for his summary use of them by adding another magnificent offering. He ordered the Master of the Mint, Edward Fitz Otho, who had acted as "clerk of the works" when the new building was begun, to "make a dragon in manner of a standard or ensign of red samite to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphires or other stones agreeable to him, to be placed in the church against the King's coming hither." The Royal example gave additional stimulus to St. Edward's admirers, and quantities of gold and jewels were offered to his shrine, where a special monk, the "keeper" of the shrine, kept guard over the treasures.

A considerable sum of money having thus been collected, there was no reason for further delay, and the great work of pulling down the old church was begun in 1245. The difficulty of destroying "the massive arches broad and round" of the Confessor's church was increased by the imperfect engines at the disposal of the monks, but so energetically was the work pushed on that Henry saw the choir opened for service before his death twenty-seven years later. The monks were obliged to hold their services in the Lady Chapel and in the nave till the new choir was ready, a period of about twenty-four years.

Henry showed an extraordinary tenacity of purpose, very unlike his conduct of state affairs, in carrying out his scheme. His Treasury was constantly empty, and he had again, in 1267, to pledge the jewels from the shrine, and even sell some of the other valuables in the Abbey. Yet, by means of all sorts of devices, he managed to pay

the immense cost of the building, which, by 1261, amounted to £29,600. He appointed a new officer on purpose to receive the money collected for the work, and assigned several special sums to it, such as a debt of £2,591 owing to him from the widow of an Oxford Jew.

The monks themselves lived in a very uncomfortable manner while the building proceeded. The ground all about the church was heaped with the great blocks of stone, which was brought from near Reigate and from Caen, the marble, which came from Purbeck, and the huge piles of oak necessary for the construction of the church, while there are constant records of the arrival of "carrates" of lead. Added to the new there were the old materials as the east end of the Confessor's church fell bit by bit before the destroying axe, and much dust and noise must have accompanied the destruction. The old building was pulled down gradually as the new proceeded, but year by year the pointed arches took the place of the round, and by the time of Abbot Islip (early 16th century) the last vestige of Norman work above ground had gone.

In the midst of the confusion caused by the destruction of the old choir Abbot Berkyng died, and was buried in the Lady Chapel, under a marble tomb which was afterwards taken down and made even with the pavement till it was removed altogether when the chapel was pulled down under Henry VII., and the brass placed at the foot of the steps, where it was visible in Dart's time.

The new abbot, Richard de Crokesley, so called after a village in Suffolk, was one of the treasurers for the money to be spent on the new building, and (probably the first) Archdeacon of Westminster. Matthew Paris describes him as "a man of eloquence, learned in the law, and a great friend of the King's," and says he "was unanimously elected abbot by the whole of the brethren of that church, for the monks feared if they acted otherwise that the King, who was their especial patron, would leave their half-finished church, which he had begun to rebuild in a handsome manner, in an incomplete state. The aforesaid Richard was therefore elected; he had always been an admirer of St. Edmund the Confessor and Arch-

bishop, for on the day of that saint's canonisation, namely, on the Sunday before Christmas Day (1246), he was summoned to the dignity of this high prelacy, and he at once ordered a chapel to be built in honour of the said saint. At the instance of the King also, an addition to the dignity of the said abbot was made by which he was allowed to perform Mass in pontifical robes, and to give a solemn blessing to the people when the Agnus Dei is chanted."

Early in 1247, while the King was holding Parliament at Westminster, his cousin, Sir Fulk of Newcastle, died in London, and was buried with great pomp in the Abbey. Soon after this Abbot Crokesley was sent to the Duke of Brabant to arrange a marriage between Prince Edward and the Duke's daughter ; but owing to some secret impediment he and his companion " returned in sorrow with empty saddle-bags and each of them grieved that he had uselessly wasted his trouble and his expenses." The abbot returned in time for a great ceremony which took place at Westminster in October, of which Matthew Paris, who was present, has left a detailed description, supplemented here from the accounts given by Fabyan and Holinshed. The Knights Templar and Hospitallers in the Holy Land, hearing of Henry's pious offerings to St. Edward's shrine, sent him a gift of a more precious relic than any he yet possessed. This was a crystal phial containing some of the Saviour's blood, attested as a genuine relic by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and many other Church dignitaries. The King forthwith summoned all the nobles of his realm together to announce the news and his intention of depositing the relic in the Abbey.

The feast of St. Edward, October 13th, was fixed for the solemn reception of the Holy Blood, and after a night spent in prayer and fasting the King went to St. Paul's, attended by a procession of nobles and ecclesiastics with crosses and lighted tapers. Here Henry received the phial " with the greatest honour, reverence, and awe. He carried it above his head publicly, going on foot, and wearing an humble dress consisting of a poor cloak without a hood, and preceded by the priests clad as aforesaid (in their copes and hoods) proceeded without stopping to the

Church of Westminster, which is about a mile distant from St. Paul's Church. Nor should it be omitted to be mentioned that he carried it with both hands when he came to any rugged or uneven part of the road, but always kept his eyes fixed on heaven or on the vessel itself. The pall was borne on four spears, and two assistants supported the King's arms lest his strength should fail in such a great effort. On his arriving at the gate of the Bishop of Durham's Court" (Durham House in the Strand) "he was met by the Conventual Assembly of Westminster, accompanied by all the bishops, abbots, and monks who had assembled (who were reckoned to amount to more than a hundred) singing and exulting in a holy spirit and with tears. They then returned in procession as they had come to the Church of Westminster, which could scarcely hold them all on account of the multitude assembled. The King, however, did not stop, but unweariedly carrying the vessel as before, made the circuit of the church, the palace, and his own chambers. Finally he presented and made an offer of it as a priceless gift and one which had made England illustrious, to God, the Church of St. Peter at Westminster, to his beloved Edward and the holy brethren, who at that place minister to God and the saints." Matthew Paris afterwards proceeds to give a lengthy report of the Bishop of Norwich's sermon, and tells us how the King called him to sit on the steps of the throne and commanded him to write "a plain and full account" of all the proceedings, inviting him also to breakfast with him, while all the other monks were entertained at the royal expense in the refectory. The same day William de Valence, the King's half-brother, and other "young bachelors" received knighthood in the Abbey Church.

Two years later the King added a marble stone with the supposed impression of the Saviour's foot to the accumulated treasures and relics. The days of Edward's death and of his translation were yearly celebrated with great magnificence, the King making a special point of being present. "On the vigil of this saint the King, with those nobles who attended the solemnity, were clothed in white garments, and spent the vigil in strict fasting,

watching, and prayer and acts of charity, remaining all night in the Abbey Church. The next day he gave orders that solemn Mass should be sung in the church, the choir being clothed in vestments of the richest silk (which he had presented for the purpose) and the church illuminated with innumerable wax tapers, and the finest music. The feast of his translation was likewise very magnificent, and at these feasts the King generally took care to call his parliament and transact the great affairs of the nation." So anxious was Henry not to miss the festival of the Confessor's translation that on one occasion, when the 13th of October fell on a Saturday, he got a special Bull from the Pope to release him from a vow he had made never to eat meat on Saturday in order to allow of his taking his usual place at the feast after Mass.

Another time (1255), finding it impossible to return from Scotland for the anniversary, he writes to his treasurer, Philip Lovel, and his son, Prince Edward, commanding them to celebrate the feast-day of the translation with the usual magnificence, with four bishops and the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, at the King's expense; offerings were to be made for the Royal Family, and they were to "cause to be touched the silver cross upon the great altar at Westminster, and that they offer one plate of gold, of the weight of one ounce, as is customary in the Mass of the said Edward, as though the King himself were present. And to fill the King's two halls at Westminster in the said feast (with people) and cause them to be fed as hath been accustomed to be done, and cause solemnly to come to Westminster on St. Edward's Day the procession of the church of St. Margaret and all the processions of the City of London with wax lights, and other processions, as the King hath likewise commanded the mayor and other honest men of London." Henry further proved his increasing attachment to the Abbey by choosing (in 1250) the monastery of Westminster, instead of the Temple Church, where he had first intended to be buried "as a suitable place in which after our decease our body ought, after due consideration, most fitly to be laid."

Among other expedients for getting money to continue

the building, Henry granted the abbot an annual fair "to endure fifteen days, and to the end that the same should be haunted with all manner of people he commanded by proclamation that all other fairs such as Ely and such like holden in that season (St. Edward's-tide, *i.e.* October) should not be kept, nor that any wares should be showed within the City of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell should come to Westminster, which was done not without great trouble and pains to the citizens, which had not room there, but in booths and tents to their great disquieting and disease for want of necessary provision, being turmoiled too pitifully in mire and dirt through occasion of rain that fell in that unseasonable time of the year." This first fair was in 1248; four years later the King issued another proclamation like the first, obliging the citizens again to shut up shop and go to Westminster, the weather being, as usual, "grievous," "albeit there was such repair of people thither that London had not been fuller to the judgment of old ancient men never at any time in their days to their remembrance." The object of these fairs was to collect a large number of people, who would naturally visit the church and offer money or gifts in kind to St. Edward or some of the saints to whom the smaller altars were dedicated.

The ill-feeling which already existed between the Abbey and the city was added to by these and other arbitrary acts. Once, in fact, "the citizens of London found themselves grieved very sore for such liberties as the King granted to the Abbot of Westminster to the great hindrance and decay of the franchises of their city; the mayor and commonality resisted all they might against these liberties, and finally, by the good help and favour of the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester, they obtained their purpose"; that is, they sent a deputation to make complaint to the King, who, however, sternly repulsed them, when the two earls "sharply rebuked the King, and cursed and abused the abbot in such a way as was a shame to his dignity and a scandal to repeat."

This took place in 1249, when the abbot must have been inured to abuse, for a great quarrel was then raging

within the monastery walls. "The discord was so great between the abbot and his convent that it became a scandal and disgrace to all the Benedictines, and infected the whole kingdom and religion itself." The cause seems to have been Crokesley's grasping nature. His generous predecessor, Berkyng, had made (in 1225) an arrangement with the monks about their respective shares in the Abbey estates, very much to the advantage of the brethren, which had been confirmed by the Pope (Gregory); this arrangement was now disputed by Crokesley. After the strife had gone on for nearly two years, the abbot, in the Lenten season of 1251, secretly crossed over to France at the wish and by the order of the King, it was said at the time, to arrange a pilgrimage which Henry thought of undertaking to St. Edmund of Canterbury's shrine at Pontignay. Whatever the King's business was, Crokesley, more intent on his own concerns, pushed on to the Papal Court at Lyons, and there stayed for a long time, following the Pope about step by step, and insinuating himself more and more in his good graces by his perseverance and persuasive manners, supplemented by rich gifts. He was given the honorary title of Pope's Chaplain, and finally persuaded Innocent IV. not only to set aside Berkyng's composition, but to subject the convent entirely to his management.

Meantime, however, a storm was brewing at home, and the imprudent abbot lost the royal favour, which he never wholly regained. For his monks, hearing what he had done, went straightway to the King and begged him to protect them, pleading their cause so movingly that Henry "who, though he loved the abbot well, yet loved the house better, was exceedingly angry and swore with a great oath, 'He shall certainly never effect his purpose,' and in the anger, indignation, and hatred he had conceived he said aloud: 'I am sorry that I made that man.'" The abbot, unconscious of this outbreak, remained some months abroad, till he had spent his money and got deeply involved in all sorts of debts and money difficulties. He ultimately returned, bringing a force of armed men, besides all kinds of credentials from the Pope, with which to coerce the monks.

Being quite unconscious of the King's disfavour, he went straight to the Court at Windsor, and there "chanted Mass before him (Henry) as if he were a Pontiff, for he was remarkable for his voice as well as for his handsome person. He then confidently approached the King, showing him letters from many princes, and begged his permission to have the entire management of the house of Winchester, which the King had entrusted to his rule, and to unite the two separate portions of the possessions of his church in one. At this request the King, whose affection was estranged from the abbot, looked at him with a scowling and sidelong glance, and gave utterance to many unmentionable reproaches and insults against him; amongst other upbraidings he declared that he had exalted him, the abbot, undeservedly, and that he had acted unadvisedly in summoning him to his secret councils; 'For,' said he, 'how could I put any confidence in your fidelity, who endeavour to oppress and harass your brethren, and those who have been your companions and guests at table for a long time past.' And although many of the abbot's friends interceded for him, the King, in a state of great anger, dismissed him from his council as well as from his affections."

At last the abbot was persuaded to agree to arbitration, and after the quarrel had dragged on into the next year a decision in favour of the monks was given (August 12th, 1252) by the arbitrators, John Mansel, Provost of Beverley, and Earl Richard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, both friends of Crokesley. The abbot, who was much disappointed by the judgment, tried to go back on his promise to agree to it, and again the King worked himself up into a violent passion, pouring out "oaths and execrations, and calling him opprobrious names," abusing him with reason for having impoverished the monastery and oppressed the monks. Henry, further to protect the brethren, granted a charter by which the properties of the abbot and of the prior and convent were declared separate, the latter to have free administration of their separate estates on the decease or resignation of an abbot. Fearing also that Crokesley might slip off and appeal to the Pope, he effectually restrained him by sending heralds

through the streets of London to proclaim that no one should lend money to the Abbot of Westminster nor obey his warrant or seal.

The King's anger seems, however, to have been short-lived, for the abbot preached many times in 1252 at the royal command, and his sermons are spoken of as "most moving." This same year a weird scene took place either in the half-built Chapter House or in the Refectory, when Henry, holding a lighted taper in one hand, the Gospels in the other, swore to observe Magna Charta. He and all the surrounding prelates and clergy then flung their smoking candles on the pavement, and cried with one voice: "So go out with smoke and stench the accursed souls of those who break or prevent the Charter," to which all present replied "Amen, amen," none more fervently, so Matthew Paris noticed, than the King himself. "Yet he took not away the high places, and again and again he collected and spent his money, till, oh shame! his folly, by frequent repetition, came to be looked on as a matter of course."

That Henry still retained a high opinion of Abbot Crokesley's business capabilities, if not of his personal character, is shown by the fact that four years after their quarrel, *i.e.* early in June, 1256, he sent him with Russano, Bishop-Elect of Salisbury, on a secret mission to Rome, taking the precaution, however, before he started, of a signed document, still in the Abbey archives, and an oath to the effect that he would adhere to the arrangement made with his monks about the estates, and that the Papal letter he had before obtained to support his claim should be annulled. The King was then anxious to obtain the empty title of King of Sicily for his son, Edmund Crouchback, from the Pope, a fruitless business which detained the abbot nearly a year at the Papal Court. He and his fellow-ambassador returned on St. Prisca's Day, 1257, "after suffering much injury and running great risks from the wiles of their adversaries, for to cross the Alps . . . they passed through France, where they suffered much loss."

A decree, which was to cause great expense and inconvenience to the abbots of Westminster for more than

200 years (till 1478), was promulgated this year by Alexander IV. By it all exempted abbots were obliged to go to Rome to be confirmed on their election by the Pope himself, and the joy the monastery had experienced on their freedom from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was now changed into mourning. Henceforth each new abbot had to wend his weary way, whatever the season or the state of the country, to Rome, and, as we shall see, some only returned either to die from the hardships of their journey, or to find the convent in a disorganised state owing to their long absence.

In this year, too (1257), the first royal burial took place in Henry's new church. The King, who was an affectionate father, lost four young children, all buried together in the Abbey, but the one whose death is noticed by the chroniclers, and for whom the tomb was made, was his little five-year-old daughter Catherine, "who was dumb and fit for nothing, but possessing great beauty." The Queen fell seriously ill from extremity of grief, while the child's father sought to console himself by the erection of a costly tomb, made of marble and rich glass mosaic, elaborately coloured and gilt. All the glories have long departed from this monument, which is in the South Ambulatory, just within the gates. The two little images have been stolen away, and we only know that a silver one, probably representing St. Catherine, was made by William of Gloucester, the King's goldsmith, who received seventy marks for it, and set up by Simon of Wells. Few traces remain of the painting at the back which represented either Henry's own children or four of his grandchildren, who were also buried in this tomb.

Before many months had passed, Abbot Crokesley was sent on another weary embassy abroad, and this time was forced to stay some while in Paris awaiting the French King's decision about a truce between England and France, as he refused to come to terms till Parliament ended. Meantime the English King, always in want of money, had been refused supplies by his Parliament, and, to suit his convenience, he received his former friend with great favour on his return home, and, "by

fair and inveigling arts, so infatuated Crokesley that he set his and the convent's seal to a writing obligatory for 2,500 marks." Armed with this, Henry attempted to extort money from other rich abbots, but in vain, for, as they justly said, they were not under the same obligations to the King as Westminster. Crokesley, quite restored to royal favour by this servile compliance, was made a Baron of the Exchequer, and chosen one of the twenty-four "wise and prudent men" who met in June, 1258, at Oxford to draw up laws for the government of the kingdom.

In July Crokesley joined the Court at Winchester, and was one of the victims of the revengeful Poitevins, William de Valence, and the other half-brothers of the King, who, being obliged to leave the kingdom on account of the clamours of the English nobility, are said to have put poison in the drink at a farewell banquet. Most of those who had taken the poison recovered, but whether from this or natural causes, Crokesley died shortly after (July 18th), and his body was honourably conveyed to Westminster. He was first buried in the chapel he had built and dedicated to St. Edmund (the bishop) near the north door; but when, in the next ten or twelve years, the old transept gradually fell before the new one, the chapel was destroyed and the abbot's body removed to St. Nicholas's chapel. In the time of Henry VI. his coffin was again removed, the body being then "firm and fresh, dressed in his vestment in which he said Mass," and placed elsewhere. The remains of an abbot found in 1866 beneath the high altar are conjectured to have been those of Crokesley. His chief fault was a too great love of power.

Crokesley was on the whole a good abbot, and "a man of handsome appearance, eloquent, and well versed in both kinds of law—canonical and civil." He had undergone many hardships abroad in the King's service, and received much abuse at home; but in spite of his great personal expenditure he increased the landed possessions of the Abbey, and obtained many privileges for it. One of his last acts was, however, as we have seen, to pledge his house to provide a large sum of money to pay the King's

HENRY III. CARRYING THE RELIC OF THE HOLY BLOOD TO WESTMINSTER.
(*See p.* 40.)

HENRY III. SWEARING TO OBSERVE MAGNA CHARTA.
(*See p.* 46.)

debts. The convent was also burdened by the cost of the sumptuous anniversary founded by Crokesley for the perpetuation of his memory. Two estates, Hampstead and Stoke, were set apart to provide the money for it, and the abbot got a Bull from Alexander IV. reciting the usual anathema against any infringer of the anniversary, and by his own authority added a sentence of excommunication.

For nine years the monks groaned under the annual burden, but at last they rebelled, and appealed to the Pope to absolve those who had unwittingly broken Crokesley's ordinances, and to modify or revoke the exaction of the anniversary. In June, 1267, therefore, the Pope sent mandates to the Abbots of Chertsey and Waltham declaring "these things to abound more in pomp than in the good of souls," and finally the service was given up, the estates returned to the common possession of the house, and ten marks were set apart to commemorate Crokesley in a less ostentatious manner.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMPLETION OF THE SHRINE, AND THE KING'S DEATH.

Two days after Crokesley's death the monks hastened to elect their Prior, Philip of Lewisham, to the vacant place. but the poor man, being fat and unwieldy, dreaded the necessary journey to Rome so much that it was only on receiving a promise from the brethren that they would get him dispensed from going that he consented to accept. Much opposition was made to this at the Papal Court ; but finally, after 800 marks had been spent in bribes, two delegates were despatched instead of the abbot to Rome. They returned, however, to find that Lewisham had died in their absence. On the 1st of December, 1258, the King granted a licence for a fresh election, and another monk, Richard de Ware, was chosen by "compromission," as it was called, *i.e.* the monks selected a few from their number to make the election. The new abbot went off at once to Rome to procure the confirmation of his election from the Pope ; but so much money had already been spent on Lewisham's that he had to borrow 1,000 marks on "very hard terms" to pay his expenses there. In Rome Ware lingered two years. He paid a second visit there in 1267, and brought Italian workmen and materials, mosaics, porphyry, and marble, back with him from Italy. These foreigners were employed to decorate the Confessor's shrine, and to lay down the beautiful pavement before the high altar, which they completed about ten years before the glass mosaic work on the shrine.

The turbulent state of England during the Wars of the Barons was not without its effect upon the prosperity of the Abbey. Henry continually took the side of the monastery against the city in their constant disputes, while De Montfort favoured the citizens. A "quest" or jury of knights was assembled in 1262 to judge between

the contesting parties over some privileges claimed by the abbot, and decided in favour of the citizens; after De Montfort's triumph at Lewes (1264) his famous Parliament took away the various charters granted before by the King to Westminster. These, however, were restored again after Evesham (1265), and once more the city had to give in to the pretensions of the abbots.

Henry found himself with an empty purse when the Earl of Gloucester headed a fresh rebellion in 1267, and had again to borrow the shrines and relics of the saints from the Abbey. These he pledged to certain merchants for the large sums of money which he required to raise the soldiers necessary to quell the haughty barons, but he returned them as soon as a temporary peace was established. Before he was defeated the Earl of Gloucester had marched on London, "spoiled the town of Westminster and the parish church" (St. Margaret's), and his followers had broken into the Abbey, where they plundered the goods of the inhabitants of Westminster placed there for safety, sparing, however, the monks' property.

In spite of constant wars and rumours of wars, the building continued steadily to progress. There are many letters addressed by the King to "our Masters and Wardens of our Works," "John of Gloucester," "Edward of Westminster," and "Robert of Beverley" (1258 to 1261). By these it appears that Henry often granted materials from Westminster to other religious bodies in London. For instance, some marble columns and forty blocks of freestone are sent to St. Martin's-le-Grand for the construction of a choir screen and loft; another time two hundred freestones are given for the chapel of St. Blaise at St. Martin's. The Friars Preachers were building an aqueduct, and the King behaved most generously to them, sending a thousand freestones, or 2,000 pounds of stone, from the quarry bought for the royal works, and "six more carrates of lead for the speedy completion of their aqueduct." Besides these the friars received "five figures of kings carved in freestone, and a pedestal for a figure of the Virgin Mary."

In the Record Office is a Fabric Roll, dated 1253, containing the expenses of "the works at Westminster" for

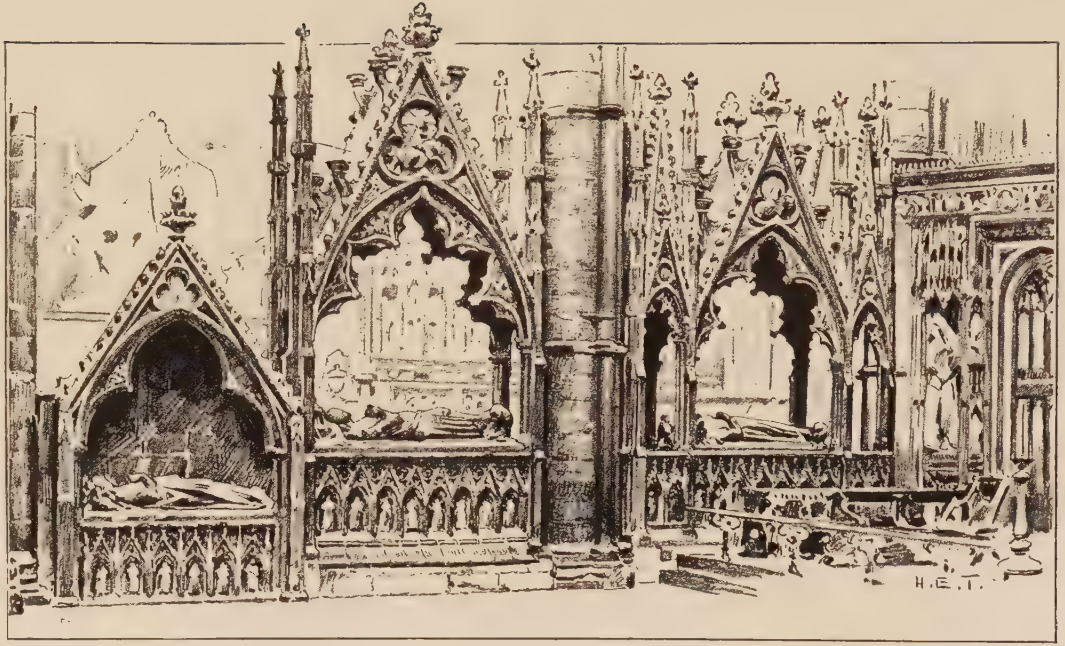
that year, which is printed in the end of Scott's "Gleanings." In this the feast-days—which were very numerous—are assigned alternately to the King and to the masons. Professor Willis conjectures from this that the men worked on the King's feasts and took their own saints' days as holidays. Both in the roll above mentioned and in the Pipe Rolls the accounts for the new rooms added to the palace by Henry III. are mixed with the church expenses, so it is difficult to give the exact cost of the new monastery buildings ; but in the Abbey archives is a note of the sums spent on the works there from their commencement to October 5th in Henry's forty-fifth year (1260), which already amounted to £29,345 19s. 8d., not reckoning £260 for the wages of the white stone cutters and lesser workmen, besides other expenses.

In 1269 the choir and transepts were completed, and the first important ceremony held in the new church was the marriage (April 9th) of the heiress of the County of Devonshire and the Sovereignty of the Isle of Wight—Aveline, the lovely daughter of William de Fortibus, the great Duke of Albemarle—to Edmund Crouchback, the King's second son. Aveline died childless a few years later (1274), and her wealth endowed the house of Lancaster, her husband's descendants by his second wife. Hers was the earliest of the three beautiful tombs on the north side of the Sanctuary.*

Edmund Crouchback afterwards married the Queen of Navarre, and she brought him the famous badge of the red rose of Provins, which became so bloody an emblem in the Wars of the Roses. The roses had been originally brought from the East to Provins. He was buried near his first wife in a most elaborate tomb, beneath which was a painting, now nearly obliterated, of ten knights, supposed to represent himself, his brother Edward and their followers when they went together to the Crusade in 1270. Between husband and wife is another fine tomb, where lies the son, Aymer, of William de Valence, Henry's half-brother, who was, as we have seen, suspected in the matter of Abbot Crokesley's death.

Aymer succeeded to his father's title as Earl of

* Usually, but erroneously, called the Sacrarium.



TOMBS OF AYMER DE VALENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE, EDMUND CROUCHBACK, AND AVELINE.

TRANSLATION OF THE CONFESSOR'S BODY.
(*See p.* 53.)

Pembroke*, and was much employed by his cousin, Edward I., in the Scotch wars, where he distinguished himself by the capture of Nigel Bruce. After helping Edward II. to defeat the barons at Pontefract, and taking part in the execution of Edmund's son, the powerful Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, he died suddenly in France in 1324, and his body was brought back to the Abbey to be buried. Here his figure may still be seen riding armed at all points on his charger. In St. Edmund's Chapel is the unique tomb, decorated with Limoges enamel, which he himself erected to his turbulent father. Although he was several times banished against the will of his half-brother, Henry III., William de Valence had always returned to Court whenever the King temporarily triumphed over the barons. He survived Henry fourteen years, and was finally killed at Bayonne, when on an expedition with his nephew, Edmund Crouchback. We have purposely digressed from our immediate subject to notice the burials of these four persons of Royal blood, all related to Henry III., and whose tombs were so harmonious with his new church.

The great event of 1269 was the transference of the Confessor's body from Westminster Palace, where it had been temporarily placed, to the new shrine, so long (twenty-eight years) preparing for it, and probably not quite completed, as regards the mosaic work and decoration, for another ten years. In order to raise the saint "high on a candlestick to enlighten the church," a great mound of earth, traditionally supposed to have been brought from Palestine, was piled behind the high altar, and here Abbot Ware's Italian workmen constructed a splendid shrine of Purbeck marble, porphyry and glass mosaic, fashioned in the delicate Italian style. The twisted pillars resemble those in the Cloisters at St. John Lateran's, and S. Paolo fuori le mura, at Rome, and are of the usual Italian type. Above this marble and mosaic basement was a glittering shrine made by English goldsmiths, of purest gold ablaze with jewels. Within this costly casket the coffin was to be placed, and a wooden

* His third wife, Mary of Chatillon, founded Pembroke College, Cambridge.

cover was specially constructed to protect the whole. The cover was elaborately decorated and painted, and only taken off on feast-days, when it was drawn up by means of pulleys hanging from the roof. West of the new shrine was the altar, and upon pillars at the sides stood statues of St. Edward and his patron saint, St. John the Evangelist, in his pilgrim's garb. Edward II. gave two new figures made of pure gold at his coronation, which probably took the place of those shown in the picture of the first shrine, in the Cambridge Life of the Confessor. Three pillars, to hold statues, were made by a Westminster monk in the time of Edward I.

Besides these two principal figures there were others presented before 1267, when they were all temporarily pledged. Amongst them were golden statues, set with precious stones, of St. Edmund and St. Peter, who held "in one hand a church, in the other the keys, trampling on Nero, with a large sapphire in his breast," which were pawned by Henry for £100; and a silver image of the Virgin and Child, "set with rubies, emeralds, and garnets, £200," was given by Henry's Queen. Besides these, seven Kings, and some golden angels are mentioned.

Kings and Queens were constantly adding to the treasures belonging to the shrine. In the will of Henry VII. his executors are directed to cause an image of that Sovereign himself, "wrought with plates of fyne gold," kneeling "upon a table of silver and gilte, and holding betwixte his hands the crowne which it pleased God to geve us with the victorie of our ennemye at our furst felde," to be set up "in the mydds of the creste of the shryne of St. Edward King, in suche place as by us in our life, or by our executors after our decease, shall be thought most convenient and honorable." Besides the figures and jewels upon the shrine itself, there was a chest kept close by containing relics presented by various Sovereigns, all set with gold and ornamented with precious stones. Amongst them tradition records the girdle of the Virgin (given by the Confessor), worked by her own hands, and dropped to St. Thomas at her Assumption, which was considered a valuable aid to women in child-

birth, and is said to have been borrowed by one or two of the Queens.

The great day appointed for the translation of the Confessor's body to its new resting-place was the feast of his canonisation, the same date (October 13th) upon which a century before Henry II. had transferred it to the tomb he had prepared for it. This day, kept as a solemn feast in the Abbey throughout many centuries, is still remembered by devout Catholics, who come on pilgrimage to St. Edward's shrine to commemorate his translation. The old shrine was probably placed in the nave, where the monks held their services during most of the re-building, since the constant offerings to the saint and the services held upon his feast could scarcely have taken place if, as some writers say, the coffin was deposited for long in Westminster Palace. But it was ultimately taken to the Palace where a chapel was prepared for it, and from there it was carried to the Abbey on the shoulders of the King himself, of his brother Richard, King of the Romans, of his two elder sons, Edward, afterwards Edward I., and Edmund Crouchback, assisted by "the Earl of Warren, the Lord Basset, with as many nobles as could come near to touch it, who supported it with their hands." The chroniclers relate that two men, one a layman, the other a clerk, both from Ireland, who were possessed of devils, were restored to health on seeing the coffin of the saint exalted on the royal shoulders. A great feast was given afterwards in the Palace, and here for the last time Henry and his sons appeared in public; Edward and Edmund were about to start for the Crusades.

Before many months had passed a tragic event took place which was commemorated in the Abbey. Henry, the son of the King's brother Richard, was kneeling at Mass in a church at Viterbo, in Italy, when he was foully murdered by the sons of Simon de Montfort, in revenge for Earl Richard's participation in their father's death, and regardless of the young Henry's innocence of all blame. The English King had his nephew's heart brought to England and placed in a golden cup near the Confessor's shrine (May 5th, 1271). Dante alludes to the heart which

" still is honoured on the banks of the Thames " (Inf. xii. 120), and condemns Guy de Montfort to the river of boiling blood in hell, the crime being peculiarly impious because it was committed during mass.

The long reign of Henry III. (fifty-six years) was now drawing to a close—a reign soiled by many a faction fight, and one in which King and nobles had agreed upon this point alone—the oppression and taxation of the people. Henry followed the Confessor's example in his somewhat ostentatious piety. He would hear three masses a day, besides private ones. When the priest elevated the host he would hold his hand and kiss it. He constantly kept Christmas by appearing at the Abbey services wearing his crown. His son Edward discontinued this custom of wearing the crown at the festivals. The description of him by Matthew Paris, his contemporary it must be remembered, is worth recording here, since we look upon Henry III. as the second founder of Westminster Abbey. He calls Henry another Nestor, and adds that he " was of middling stature, and compact in body. The eyelid of one eye hung down so as to hide some of the dark part of the eyeball. He possessed robust strength, and was inconsiderate in his acts, but, as they generally came to fortunate and happy results, many thought he was designated by the prophet Merlin when speaking of the lynx as penetrating everything with his eye."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHAPTER HOUSE, AND THE TOMBS OF HENRY III. AND QUEEN ELEANOR OF CASTILE.

Henry III. was taken ill while saying his prayers to St. Edmund at St. Edmund's Abbey (Bury St. Edmunds), and carried to Westminster Palace, where he died on the feast (November 16th, 1272) of the other St. Edmund, the Archbishop, to whose tomb in France he had wished to go on a pilgrimage. The funeral was fixed for the festival of the royal St. Edmund (November 20th), and was conducted with much solemnity. The Templars, who had been constant friends to Henry, presented the coffin and paid for the funeral pomp ; an effigy, richly dressed and wearing a crown of the late King's, who thus "shone more magnificent when dead than he had appeared when living," was carried in procession. The body was first laid before the high altar in the Confessor's old coffin, where it remained for nearly twenty years, though the tomb seems to have been finished in ten years, and here the Earl of Gloucester, obeying his old Sovereign's behest, put his bare hand on the coffin and swore fealty to the absent Edward. Edward did not hear of his father's death till many months afterwards, when he was already on his way back from the Holy Land. So tedious was travelling in those days, and so numerous were the delays which took place, that the new King did not land in England till nearly two years later. Meantime his own young son Henry had died (October, 1273), and some difficulty had arisen over his funeral in the Abbey, since his uncle, Prince Edmund, desired the Archbishop of Canterbury to take the service, while Abbot Ware stood upon his rights and refused to allow the Primate to preside till he had signed a protestation that "the indulgence should not prejudice the privileges of the Abbey, nor be drawn into example."

Before his Sovereign's return the abbot went abroad to attend the Second Council of Lyons (1274), but returned in time to take his place at the coronation (August 19th) of Edward and his wife, Eleanor, the first joint coronation of a king and queen-consort in the present Abbey. Archbishop Kilwardby was the Primate who anointed and crowned the Sovereigns. After the usual banquet, five hundred great horses, upon which the royal princes and their attendants had ridden to the Abbey, were turned loose for the crowd "to catch them who could." Upon the following day Alexander III. of Scotland, whose armorial bearings were hung in the choir, did homage for his kingdom, which was doomed to be Edward's chief battle-ground for the whole of his reign. The brave Llewelyn, last Prince of Wales, refused to obey the English King's summons, but eight years passed before he was finally defeated and executed (1282). His head was crowned with ivy and placed on a stake on the top of the Tower of London. His golden crown, when Wales was thus at last subdued, was offered to the shrine by Alfonso, Edward's ten-year-old son. Poetical justice was, however, meted out to Edward, since the young prince died two years later (August 19th, 1284), and was buried near the symbol of the conquest of Wales, close to the Confessor's shrine, between some of his brothers and sisters, who had been laid there before. The King himself afterwards (1286) presented a piece of the cross called Croizneth (the Cross of Neath), given up to him with other relics by the Welsh.

Like his predecessor, Abbot Ware was a royal favourite, and was sent on various political missions abroad by Edward I.; in 1280 he was made Treasurer. In the following year the late King's tomb was completed. Edward had spared neither trouble nor expense to make a fitting resting-place for his father near his favourite saint. He had brought the two great slabs of porphyry inserted on each side from abroad. The design of the tomb was Italian, and no doubt set up by the Italian workmen who were still employed upon the shrine, the decorations of glass mosaic, and jewels being identical; but the brass figure of the King (a conventional effigy and not a like-

ness) was worked by an Englishman, William Torel, who was also employed for that of Queen Eleanor close by, and is a later addition. The grille, which protected the costly jewels let into the garments, the holes for which only are left, was forged by an English smith, Master Henry of Lewes, in Sussex, that county being then the scene of extensive ironworks.

This year (1281) the exempted abbots—Westminster, St. Albans, Waltham, and Edmundsbury—refused to obey the Archbishop's summons to a Council held at Lambeth, and appealed to the Pope, who compelled them to give way; the Archbishop refraining, however, from pressing his claims. Abbot Ware was engaged about this time in a more serious quarrel with the Bishop of Worcester about the priory of Great Malvern, then one of the cells belonging to Westminster. Each appointed a prior there, the abbot imprisoning the bishop's nominee; whereupon the irate prelate excommunicated Ware, and asked for the support of the Pope. However, the King interposed, and settled the dispute in the abbot's favour.

While active in outside affairs, Ware employed his time at home in a most useful work. He personally superintended the compilation of a large book known as the "Consuetudines," containing the ancient customs and rules of the monastery, collected and arranged by William Halseley, the sub-prior. It treated of the duties of the abbot and other officers, and was kept in a chest by itself "because of the secrets of our order therein contained" (says Flete, the chronicler of the monastery). It consisted of four parts, "a fair MS. in vellum, in folio." The fourth and principal part existed intact till 1731, when it was burnt, though not entirely destroyed, by the fire in the Cotton Library. Such parts as are legible have been deciphered and printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

The "incomparable" Chapter House which, according to Matthew Paris, was begun in 1250, was entirely completed in 1256 under Ware's abbacy. There, long before, the great Council of the Nation had met in order to grant a subsidy. Later on, in the time of Edward III., the Chapter House was lent by the monastery to the Crown

(on condition, according to Wren, that the Crown paid for the repairs) for the meetings of the House of Commons. Here, with occasional migrations to the Refectory, where Parliament, before the separation of the two Houses, had impeached Piers Gaveston, Edward II.'s favourite, the Commons met from the time of Edward III. to Edward VI. To this "House of the Chapter in the Great Cloister of the Abbey of Westminster," Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses were summoned by royal writ, and beneath this roof " were passed in reign after reign statutes that have left their mark on English legislation and history, and the Acts which in the days of the second Tudor king severed the connection of Church and king with the See of Rome." The Chapter House is, in fact, the cradle of the present House of Commons. On the dissolution of the monastery it became the property of the Crown, and from 1547, when the Commons removed to St. Stephen's Chapel, the records were kept here, till, in 1863, these documents were removed to the Rolls Office.

Abbot Ware himself described it as " the little House in which the convent meets to consult for its welfare. It is well called the *Capitulum* (Chapter House), because it is the *capit litium* (the head of strifes), for there strifes are ended. It is the workshop of the Holy Spirit, in which the sons of God are gathered together. It is the house of confession, the house of obedience, mercy, and forgiveness ; the house of unity, peace, and tranquillity, where the brethren make satisfaction for their faults." Here it was that the monks met at least once a week, possibly every day. " They marched," says Dean Stanley, " in double file through the vestibule, of which the floor still bears traces of their feet. They bowed on their entrance to the great crucifix which rose, probably, immediately before them over the stalls at the east end, where the abbot and his four chief officers were enthroned. When they were all seated in the stone seats round, perfect freedom of speech was allowed. Now was the opportunity for making any complaints and for confessing faults. A story was long remembered of the mistake made by a foolish prior in Abbot Papillon's time, who

MURDER OF HENRY III.'S NEPHEW.
(*See p. 55.*)

THE SCRAMBLE FOR HORSES AT THE CORONATION OF EDWARD I.
(*See p.* 58.)

confessed out of his proper turn. The warning of the great Benedictine oracle Anselm against the slightest violation of rules was emphatically repeated. No signals were to be made across the building. The guilty parties were to acknowledge their faults at the step before the abbot's stall. Here, too, was the scene of judgment and punishment. The details are such as recall a rough school rather than a grave ecclesiastical community. The younger monks were flogged elsewhere. But the others, stripped wholly or from the waist upwards, or in their shirts girt close round them, were scourged in public here with rods of single or double thickness by the mature brothers who formed the Council of the Abbot (but always excluding the accuser from the office), the criminal himself sitting on a three-legged bench, probably before the central pillar, which was used as a judgment seat or whipping-post. If flogging was deemed insufficient, the only further punishment was expulsion. . . In this stately building the chief ceremonials of the Abbey were arranged, as now in the Jerusalem Chamber. Here were fixed the preliminary services of the anniversaries of Henry VII., and the chantry monks, and the scholars to be sent at his cost to the universities were appointed." (Stanley's Memorials.)

Ware himself probably supplied the painted tiles which still form the pavement of the Chapter House. Early in December, 1283, this great abbot died suddenly, "not much lamented by his convent, because of his austerity."

He was buried on the north side of the "Sacrarium," beneath his own beautiful pavement. This pavement is composed of blue glass mosaic, red and green porphyry, Lydian and Phrygian and white Carrara marbles on a groundwork of English marble. The design, a favourite one in those days, represents the probable duration of the world, according to the "Primum Mobile," or the Ptolemaic system. The age of the world was thus arrived at by a system of elaborate calculations, starting with the time (3 years) a dry hedge usually stood, and computing the life of a dog as thrice that—*i.e.* 9 ; a horse as thrice 9—*i.e.* 27 ; a man as thrice 27—*i.e.* 81 ; a hart thrice 81—*i.e.* 243; a raven thrice 243—*i.e.* 729; an eagle thrice 729

—*i.e.* 2,187 ; a whale thrice 2,187—*i.e.* 6,561 ; finally three times the life of a whale, 19,683 years, is supposed to produce the time the world will last. The Latin verses recording this curious theory were inscribed in bronze letters interspersed with the design. At the end were the names of Henry III., who furnished the money; of Abbot Ware, who procured the materials and took charge of the work; of Odericus, the chief workman, probably an Italian; and the date 1272, when it was completed. The pavement has, unfortunately, suffered irreparable injury, but, in order to preserve the fragments, the central part is covered by an Oriental carpet.

Walter de Wenlock, one of the brethren, was unanimously elected to succeed Ware, and in February, 1284, he went on the usual toilsome journey to the Papal Court, taking with him a retinue of thirty followers. Two years later Stow has recorded that the new church was finished as far as the end of the choir : it was probably completed enough for the monks' ordinary use before this. One more bay was added during Edward's reign, but the nave went on slowly, and the west end was not reached for over three centuries more. Some painted windows by the King's glazier, John de Bristol, a well-known glass painter, were added to the Abbey at this time (1290), the artist receiving only £64, which, even though this sum represents a good deal more in our money, yet seems paltry enough when compared with the enormous cost of modern glass. A few fragments of this beautiful thirteenth-century glass are no doubt amongst the patchwork of old glass in the eastern windows of the apse, and a large piece is in the Triforium.

Edward, while occupied with worldly affairs, with lawmaking and fighting, still kept up the traditional reverence for St. Edward. In the Abbey, in the summer of 1290, one of his daughters, Margaret, was married to John, the Duke of Brabant's son. Before the year was out all the royal wedding festivity was darkened by the death of Edward's beloved wife, Eleanor of Castile. The Queen had been failing all the summer with a kind of low fever, probably brought on by the constant exposure and hardships she had suffered while on the last

Crusade with her husband. She died on the 28th of November, at Hardby, in Nottingham, within a ride of Clipston, in Sherwood Forest, where the King was then holding his Parliament, and he was therefore able to be with her to the last. Preparations were at once made to convey the body to Westminster, the King desiring to show his grief for her loss by a grave close to St. Edward's, and at the feet of his father, as also by the "pomp and circumstance" of her funeral. So, on the 4th of December the long *cortège* started from Hardby on the journey southward. At every monastery which they passed on the way the monks came out with bells and candles to meet them, and at every place where the coffin stayed a night the King afterwards erected a beautiful cross (twelve, including Charing), only three of which, at Gedding, Northampton, and Waltham, still exist.

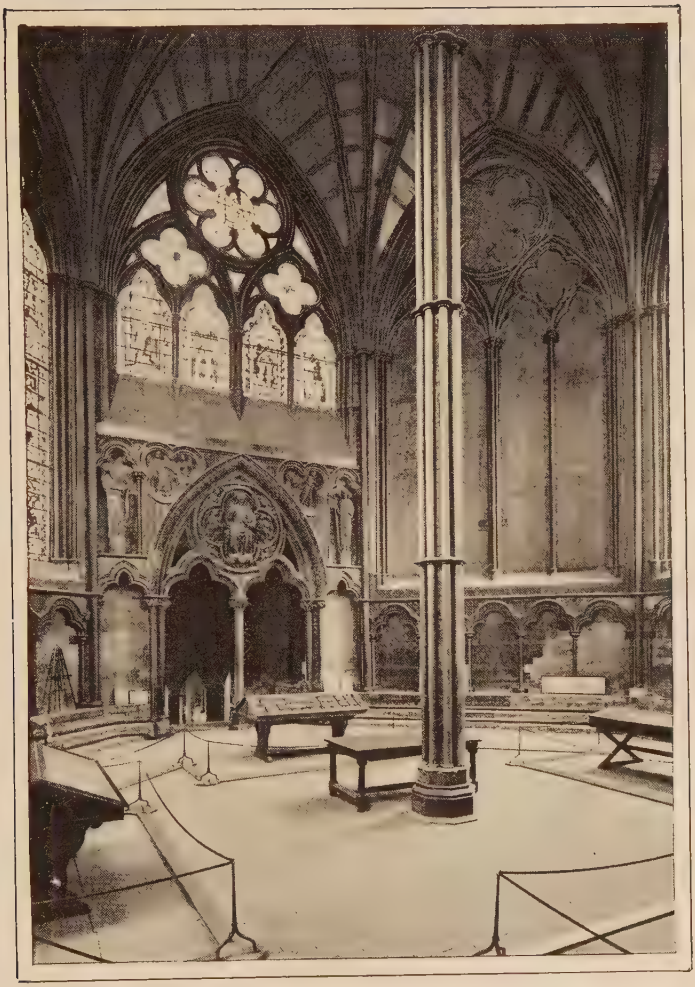
At St. Albans the whole convent came out to meet the coffin, which was laid for the night before the high altar, while Edward pushed on to London. The next day, December the 17th, he, with a large concourse of nobility and clergy, received the procession at Charing village, where the Queen was long commemorated by a cross, which was destroyed by the Puritans as an emblem of superstition. From here the remains were escorted to Westminster, and a grand funeral mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Lincoln, the interment not taking place till the following day. Besides the crosses, Edward raised tombs at Lincoln, Blackfriars (where the heart was buried), and, last and most beautiful of all, at Westminster. Here the same Torel, who was still employed on the image of Henry III., fashioned one also of the Queen, ideal, yet surely not wholly unlike, if the sweetness of Eleanor's character may be considered as typified in the ideal face. For this and King Henry's image Torel received altogether £113 6d. 8d. (about £1,700 in our money).

The names of all the workers and the cost of the materials which went to the making of this tomb exist. Richard de Crundale, who built Charing Cross, received £10 in 1291 for his work there and on the tomb, while the "paviour," Master William, had £7 for the pavement

about the tomb. The metal was supplied by William Sprot and John de Ware, who received first £50, and later on 50 marks for it, while the florins for the gilding came from Lucca. The wooden cover which protected the image, and was afterwards—probably under Henry VI.—replaced by the present plain Perpendicular canopy, was made by the carpenter, Thomas de Hokyntone, at the cost of 70s., the painter who decorated it being Walter of Durham, probably the same artist who painted the coronation chair. An English smith—Thomas of Leghtone (Leighton)—made the elaborate iron grille which protected the tomb from injury and also the precious relics in the chapel from robbers. For this he received £12, with 20s. extra for his expenses.

In 1292, when the tomb was finished, Edward granted many lands (producing, it is said, over £200 a year) to the monastery, on condition that a magnificent festival was held annually on the day of the Queen's death—St. Andrew's Eve. The accounts for the money spent on the first two commemorations are extant, and 3,706 pounds of wax are put down among the items, while the Earl of Warren had to travel all the way from the North of England on purpose to be present, having received a special summons. At each anniversary large sums were distributed to the poor, and as late as the dissolution weekly alms were given away in the Abbey for the soul of Eleanor. Thirty of the hundred wax tapers kept on the tomb ready for the anniversary were always lit on special festivals or when a royal visitor came to see the chapel, and Fabyan, writing in the end of the fifteenth century, says of Eleanor: "She hathe ij wexe tapers breunynge upon her tomb both day and night, whyche so hathe contynued syne the day of her buryinge to the present day." On the ambulatory side of the tomb was once a painting, now quite obliterated, of "a sepulchre, with divers monks praying thereat." A knight armed and a woman with a child in her arms were still visible in the early eighteenth century, and a sketch of the two latter figures is in the Powell collection in the British Museum.

The monastery was at feud not only with the Archbishop of Canterbury this year, but also with the Friars



THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

PUNISHMENT OF A MONK IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE.
(*See p.* 61.)

Minors, who infested the Abbey, clamouring for the cession of a certain friar—Pershore—who had become a monk contrary to their rules. The Archbishop, to whom, according to Matthew of Westminster, the friars looked as to their moon, the Pope being their sun, laid the Abbey under an interdict, and Nicholas IV. obliged Wenlock to submit, pay the costs, and give up the friar, who seems, however, to have escaped.

Wenlock was fully occupied this year—1290—since he and the Abbot of Chertsey were nominated by the Abbot of Gloucester as the presidents of a Convention of about three hundred monks which met at Abingdon to settle about the foundation of a Benedictine college connected with Gloucester Abbey and called Gloucester Hall, now absorbed in Worcester College, Oxford.

Although the tomb of Henry III. seems to have been completed ten years earlier, the late King's body was only removed into it in 1291. Long before, Henry had promised his heart to Fontevrault, where his grandparents, Henry II. and Eleanor of Aquitaine, his uncle, Richard I., and his mother, Isabella, lay buried. The abbess, who was a powerful lady, and held the unique position of ruler over both a monastery and a nunnery at Fontevrault, happened to be in England this year, and the heart was solemnly delivered to her in the Abbey by Edmund Crouchback, assisted by two bishops.

Four years later (September 21st, 1294), a tumultuous scene took place in the monks' refectory, the door* of which still exists in the Cloisters, while some part of the wall is built into the present Deanery. Here Edward browbeat a Council composed of clergy and laymen, insisting on a subsidy. The Dean of St. Paul's, choked by his passionate desire to remonstrate against the King's injustice, actually fell dead at Edward's feet. In the midst of the dissentient murmurs roused by the royal demands "a knight, John Havering by name, rose up and said: 'My venerable men, this is the demand of the King—the annual half of the revenues of your chamber. And if anyone objects to this, let him rise up in the middle

* This actual door is later than 1294, but is probably in the same place a the older one.

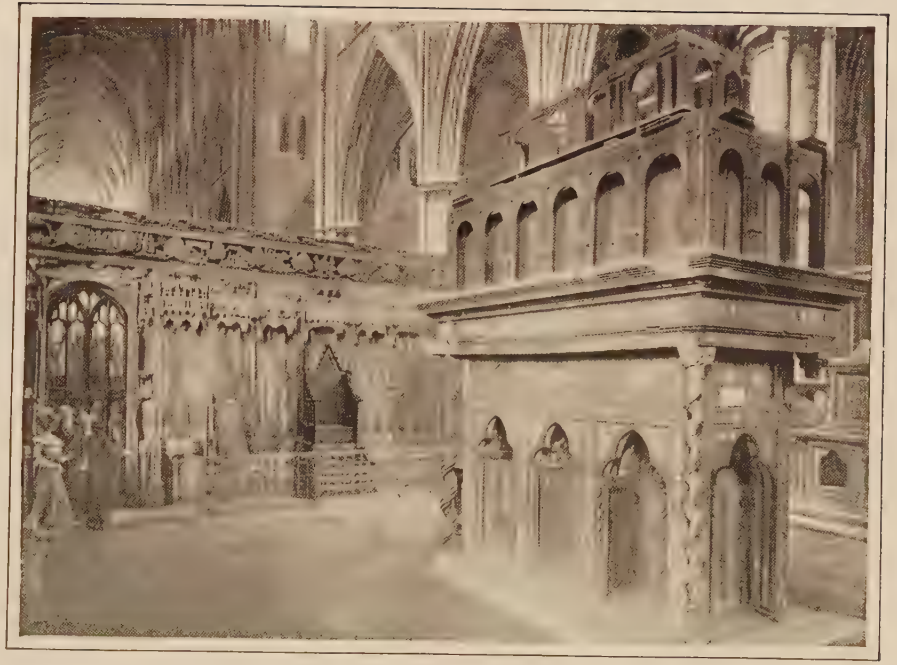
of this assembly, that his person may be recognised and taken note of, as he is guilty of treason against the King's peace.' " No one dared accept the challenge, and the dispirited prelates "immediately agreed to the King's demands."

A loving son to the Church as long as the clergy gave in to all his wishes, Edward delighted to honour his patron, the sainted Confessor. Before his shrine he offered (in 1297) the trophies of his Scotch victories—the crown and sceptre of the Scotch kings and the famous Coronation Stone from Scone. Legends trace the stone back to the Holy Land, where Jacob used it as his pillow, thence to Egypt and to Spain; from Spain traditionary history tracks it to Ireland, where, upon the sacred hill of Tara, the "stone of destiny" groaned aloud when a royal chief was crowned seated upon it, but remained silent were the claimant a usurper. From Ireland to Scotland, where it was carried by Fergus in 330 B.C., was but a step after so many wanderings; but its authentic history first begins when (850 A.D.) King Kenneth placed it in the monastery at Scone, and upon it every successive King of Scotland was crowned. Edward carried it off in triumph to Westminster Abbey, where, since his day, every sovereign of our country has been crowned seated upon the stone; three hundred years afterwards the prophecy, which is said to have been engraved on it by Kenneth, was fulfilled in the person of James I., King of England and Scotland. The Latin distich is thus translated:

> "If fates go right, where'er this stone is found,
> The Scots shall monarchs of that realm be crowned."

Edward first ordered a chair to be made in bronze by Master Adam to enclose the stone. He afterwards changed his mind, and a wooden one was constructed by Master Walter of Durham, who received 100 shillings for the chair; 13s. 4d. was paid "for carving, painting, and gilding two small leopards in wood," which were delivered to Walter "to be placed upon and on either side of the chair made by him." The chair was finished by 1301, when the painter received a further sum of

THE EXTORTION OF A ROYAL SUBSIDY.
(*See p.* 65.)



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL, WITH THE CORONATION CHAIR.

PHOTOGRAPH BY YORK & SON, NOTTING HILL, W.

£1 19s. 7d. for adding a step at the foot, and "for the wages of the carpenters and of the painters, and for colours and gold employed, also for the making of a covering to cover the said chair." The present chair, mutilated as it is by the vandals who in old days were allowed to cut their names, and destroyed by the ruthless hand of time, is but a wreck of what it once was. The Court painter, who was probably the artist of Henry III.'s canopy, and of the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace, covered the oak with beautiful patterns and elaborate mouldings, while a figure at the back seems to have represented "a king seated, his feet resting on a lion." Glass mosaic was perhaps mingled with the gilded ornamentation. The whole composition must have been a beautiful work of art.

In March, 1298, while the chair was being made, all the treasures in the Abbey had a narrow escape, for a terrible fire broke out in the palace close by, and "the flame thereof, being driven by the wind, fired the monastery buildings." Fortunately, although much damage was done to the monastic offices, the church escaped unhurt.

In the first years of the next century (fourteenth) a disgraceful affair took place at Westminster, in which the monks were deeply implicated.

The King went off to his Scotch wars in August, 1302, leaving treasure to the value of £100,000 in the care of Abbot Wenlock and the convent.

In the summer of 1303 strange rumours reached Edward, who was at Linlithgow, of valuable silver and gold vessels picked up by persons walking in the precincts of the monastery, and of jewels belonging to the royal treasury, which were exhibited for sale in the goldsmiths' shops round about. The King sent commisioners to inquire into the mystery, and the examinations and trials of all suspected of complicity in the crime were carried out on a very extensive scale, juries being assembled for the purpose in various parts of London. The chief culprit was a pedlar, one Roger de Podelicote, who had begun by thieving from the monk themselves, and ended by leaguing with some

of them to rob the King. Tempted by the sight of the baskets heaped with silver plate carried in and out of the refectory, he had climbed by a ladder into the Chapter House through a window carelessly left unbolted, and, during the autumn of 1302, had abstracted some of this plate, actually from the refectory itself, and sold it. Encouraged by his successful thefts, Podelicote, about Christmas, determined to rob the King as well as the convent. So he set to work tunnelling a passage through the south-east wall of the royal treasury,* and by St. Mark's Eve had made a breach through which he proceeded to carry out the treasure piece by piece. As this part of the wall, though hidden from passers-by, was exactly below the dormitory where the monks slept, Podelicote could scarcely have concealed his nightly depredations from the brethren. He was suspected not only of corrupting some of the monks, but also of being in league with certain officials in the palace hard by.

The Chapter House stood in the monks' cemetery, which extended from St. Margaret's on the north to the wall of the infirmary on the south, and here, it is said, the guilty monks planted a crop of hemp, implying their early share in the pedlar's scheme, as the hemp must have been sown in the first months of the year. The sacrist took charge of the key of the cemetery when the hemp grew sufficiently tall to conceal the stolen goods, and the gardener witnessed at the trial that he had been refused admittance on the day the treasure was discovered there. Podelicote's confession does not implicate the monks, but there is no doubt that some of the brethren were guilty. It is not at all clear that the abbot himself was a party to the crime, but the sub-prior is said to have actually been seen hiding his share. He and the sacrist, with forty-eight monks, were sent to the Tower when the Royal Commissioners arrived in June, 1303. The abbot and other chief officers, though not actually imprisoned, were held to bail. The broken plate and jewels were gradually collected together again, and placed for safety in the Guildhall and the Tower pending the result of the trials.

* According to the most recent evidence this treasury was in the Pyx Chapel itself, not in the Chapter House Crypt.

Much suspicion fell upon the abbot and his monks, in spite of their protestations of innocence. Eye-witnesses testified that they had seen Westminster monks dropping down the millstream with hampers in their boats, and an immense quantity of treasure was found either buried in the cemetery or hidden in the hemp. Pieces of plate had also been concealed under the very walls of the palace itself. Four years before the same burglary seems to have been attempted, but the affair was then hushed up on Wenlock's intercession with the King. Further inquiries were instituted early in 1304, and great corruption and laxity of discipline were discovered in the monastery; but ultimately Edward pardoned the chief of the suspected brethren, more on account of the scandal to the Church, and to Westminster in particular, than because their innocence was proved. Some of the lesser monks seem to have been found guilty, and spent several years in prison.

On Whit Sunday, May 22nd, 1306 (the last year of Edward's reign), a great festival took place at Westminster. It was the occasion of the knighthood of his son Edward, the first Prince of Wales, when the King swore his famous oath to avenge John Comyn—an oath destined to be frustrated by his death.

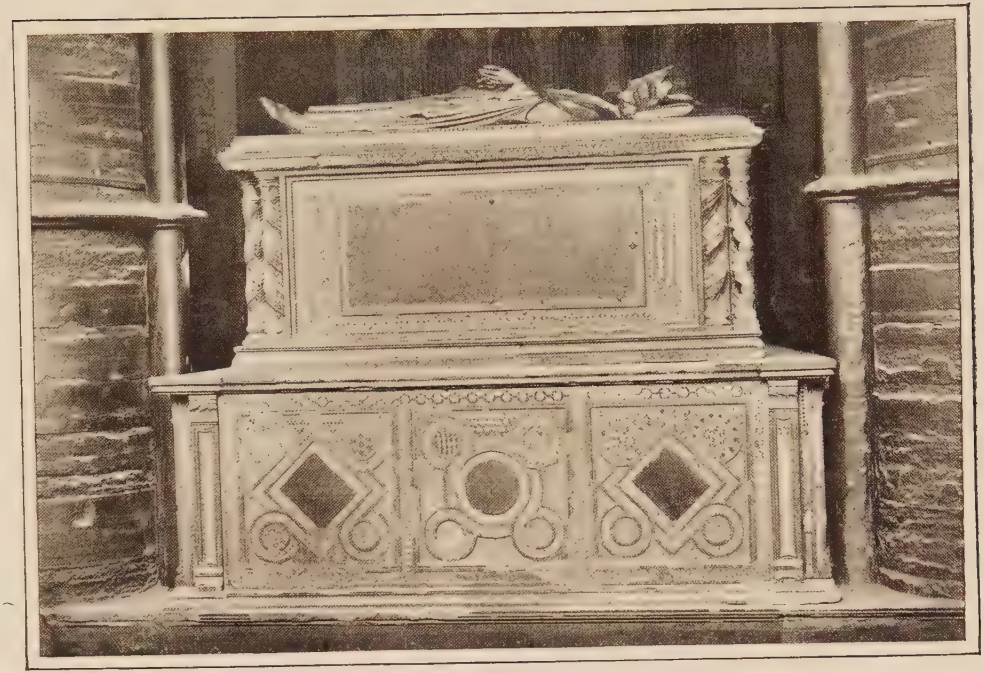
The following account of this great ceremony is taken from the chronicle called Matthew of Westminster's "Flores Historiarum," in Bohn's translation, from which other extracts have been made before:—

"Three hundred youths, therefore, the sons of earls, barons, and knights, being assembled together, to each of them was distributed as much as he wanted of purple cloth, silk, fine linen, and tunicks wrought with gold. And as the Royal Palace of Westminster, though large, was incapable of containing the numbers of those who were assembled, the orchards and walls near the Temple were destroyed, and tents set up in which the youths might dress themselves in their golden dresses. On the night preceding the ceremony, as many of the knights as the Temple Church could contain kept their vigils in it; but the Prince of Wales, by command of his father, together with the youths of higher rank, kept his vigils in the church of Westminster. So loud was the sound of trumpets and fifes and the voices of those present, unable as they were to contain their joy, that the singing of the monks could not be heard from one side of the choir to the other. The next day the King girt his son with the military belt in his own Palace, at the same time conferring on him the Duchy

of Aquitaine. The Prince, therefore, being himself made a knight, went to the church at Westminster in order to invest his companions with the same dignity. So great was the pressure before the high altar that two of the young knights were stifled and several others fainted, although each of the knights had at least three others to lead him forward and to guard him. The Prince himself, on account of the pressure, girt his knights on no less sacred a place than the high altar, employing these his brave companions to divide the crowd. There were brought before the King in glorious pomp two swans, gorgeously caparisoned, with their beaks gilt (a most pleasing spectacle to the beholders), on which the King made a vow before God and the swans that he would march into Scotland to avenge the fate of John Comyn and to punish the perjury of the Scots, obliging the Prince and other great men of the kingdom to swear to him that if he should die first they would carry his body into Scotland, and would not bury it till the Lord should have made them victorious over the perfidious usurper and his perjured adherents."

On his way to Scotland in the following summer Edward fell ill and died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, bequeathing his vengeance to his unworthy son. The corpse lay unburied by the side of Harold's tomb in Waltham Abbey from July to October, when, instead of carrying it at the head of a victorious army into Scotland, the young Sovereign caused it to be conveyed to London. A Parliament which met at Northampton in October decreed that the late king should be interred with all the honours befitting so great a monarch. The funeral was fixed for the 27th October, and for three successive nights beforehand the coffin lay first in Holy Trinity Church, then in St. Paul's, and finally in the Greyfriars, whence the Friars Minors conveyed it in an open chariot, the effigy, attired in royal robes, lying upon it, to the Abbey. The Bishop of Durham, Anthony Bec, said the last mass, and indulgences were promised to all who should pray for the king's soul. But with the funeral Edward II. no doubt considered that his filial duties ceased. He squandered the money in his father's coffers upon himself and his favourites, and the plain tomb in which the great lawgiver lies remains a monument to the son's extravagance.

The old King on his death-bed had made his son promise three things, not one of which was to be fulfilled: 1. To boil his body till the flesh fell from the bones, and to take those bones with an army to Scotland till that



TOMB OF HENRY III.

PHOTOGRAPH BY YORK & SON, NOTTING HILL, W.

THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES INVESTING HIS KNIGHTS ON THE HIGH ALTAR.
(SEE P. 90.)

kingdom was subdued. 2. To send the heart with an escort of sevenscore knights to the Holy Land, money being left for the purpose. 3. To send away Piers Gaveston. According to some, the tomb was left rough and plain in its present form because Edward intended to carry out his father's behests, and the cover was purposely loose, that it might be easily raised, the motto, "Pactum serva," referring to his compact. But when, in 1774, the Society of Antiquaries had the tomb opened and examined, the state of the corpse belied this view, for there lay no bleaching bones, but the embalmed body of the Hammer of the Scots, "richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost entire;" the name of "Longshanks" was justified by the measurements of the shrivelled corpse—six feet two inches in length. The antiquaries poured pitch upon the remains, and had the tomb securely and finally fastened up. The cover had probably been left loose to permit of the constant airing of the linen cloth which closely covered and preserved the body; and there are entries in the royal wardrobe accounts and elsewhere long after Edward II.'s death, of wax, either for this purpose, or for wax candles to burn round the tomb. In justice to the latter, it should be remembered that his father's tomb was once painted and covered with a rich pall, but even then the absence of an effigy must have been conspicuous.

To return to the Abbey affairs, we find that the last year of Wenlock's life was unfortunately marked by a quarrel between himself and his monks over the old bone of contention—Berkyng's and Crokesley's agreement, he being accused of not fulfilling its articles. As usual, the Pope was appealed to, this time by the prior, while Wenlock bribed Edward's favourite, Gaveston, to get the new king on his side. The majority of the monks took their abbot's part, for he was very popular with the brethren. In the midst of the strife Wenlock died suddenly as he was saying mass on Christmas Eve (1307), at his manor house of Pyrford, Surrey. His body was brought to Westminster and buried under Ware's mosaic pavement: he bequeathed all his plate and several houses he owned in King Street to the convent.

CHAPTER VIII.

TWO GREAT ABBOTS, LANGHAM AND LITLINGTON.

WENLOCK, "good easy man," governed his monks with only too lax a hand, for the accusations against the character of the brethren at the time of the robbery of the treasury are substantiated by the manner of the next election. Richard de Kydington, who was chosen on the 26th of January by compromission, himself being one of the seven electors (all of whom were friends of Wenlock's) was a man of so immoral a character that even Edward II. thrice refused confirmation, and it was not till Gaveston had been bribed with £100 that the royal assent was procured. Then another delay took place at the Papal Court (Avignon), where others of the monks opposed Kydington, who finally only obtained the Pope's consent after promising to pay 8,000 florins—a sum which took so long to raise that five years after the abbot's death 3,000 florins were still owing, but were remitted by John XXII. Kydington was away at Avignon on this mission for three years, during which time the internal affairs of the monastery went from bad to worse, and all sorts of irregularities occurred. His death, in 1315, must have been hailed by all the well-conducted brethren, and it is noticed by the chroniclers that he was the only abbot who was unable to leave money for an anniversary. He was buried before the high altar.

In the midst of the uncertainties over the new abbot's election in 1308, Edward II. was crowned in the Abbey, on Shrove Tuesday, February 25th. His coronation was chiefly marked by his flagrant defiance of his father's wishes, for Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, who officiated, had conspired against Edward I., and Piers Gaveston, now Earl of Cornwall, who carried the crown and took precedence of all the nobles of the realm, had

been exiled from Court by the late king on his death-bed. The disgust occasioned by the unpopular Gaveston's presence, "the King's idol," nearly caused a riot during the ceremony, and broke out afterwards in a barons' war, while Edward expiated his foolish favouritism in a turbulent reign and a miserable death.

Kydington's successor was William de Curtlington, who was unanimously elected (1315) by the convent, the rare agreement of the electors being attributed to the intervention of the Holy Spirit. There were four ways of election in the Benedictine bodies: 1. By compromission, *i.e.* a small committee of monks. 2. *Per viam Spiritus Sancti—i.e.* unanimously. 3. By Papal provision, the King usually submitting a name to the Pope. 4. By postulation—*i.e.* voting by a show of hands.

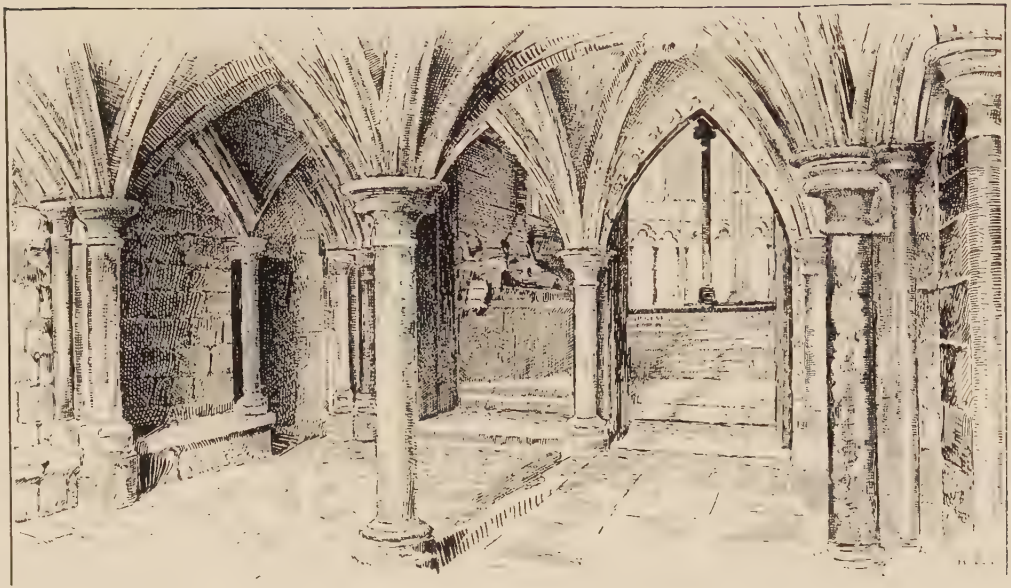
Curtlington was elected on the 24th of April, and went to Valence in Dauphiny—where the cardinals were assembled to elect a new Pope—for confirmation in July. In the vacancy of the Papal See the ceremony was performed by Cardinal Colonna. Curtlington had been manager of Wenlock's household affairs, and during the eighteen years he ruled as abbot he was very active for the good of the convent, punishing faulty brethren, rebuilding manor houses—Islip amongst others—and restoring discipline. The most important event which took place in the Abbey during this abbot's time was the coronation of Edward III.

A General Assembly was convened on the 20th of January, 1327, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Reynolds) preached a sermon on the theme "*Vox populi, vox Dei,*" since it was important to get the popular consent to the young Prince's coronation and to his father's deposition. Edward III., however, would not accept the crown till his father's formal consent was obtained, a consent easily wrung from the wretched prisoner at Berkeley Castle, whose inconvenient presence was removed during the summer by foul means, with the complicity of his French wife, Isabella. The boy of fourteen knew nothing, however, of this compulsion, and, believing in his father's willing approval, received the crown on Sunday the 29th of January, 1327. The sword and shield of state, still

existing in the Abbey, were first carried before the Sovereign on this occasion, and are said to have been those borne before him on his Scotch wars.

Seven years later another state ceremony took place in the Abbey. This was the funeral of Edward's only brother, John, called of Eltham (in Kent), because he was born at a palace there belonging to Edward II. He died in 1334, aged nineteen, at Perth, where he had gone the year before with his brother to invade Scotland and restore John Baliol, and his body was brought all the way from the North to be interred "entre les royals." His tomb, in St. Edmund's Chapel, is a beautiful specimen of Decorated work, although sadly mutilated. The alabaster figure is in complete armour; the princely coronet, with alternate small and large trefoil leaves, is said to be the first of this form. Upon his shield are the "three lions of England, with a bordure of fleurs de lys." Round the tomb were once small alabaster statues of the kings and queens to whom he was related, but, unfortunately, except those on the screen side, all are more or less broken, and some altogether missing. There was once a beautiful richly-decorated canopy with eight cinquefoil headed arches, but this was broken down by the weight of the crowd, who climbed upon it to see the funeral of the Duchess of Northumberland in 1776, and the fragments were cleared away by that vandal dean Zachary Pearce.

During Edward's long and warlike reign no fewer than five abbots ruled over the Abbey—Curtlington (d. 1333), Henley (d. 1344), Byrcheston (d. 1349), and Langham, who was followed in 1362 by Litlington. During Henley's abbacy a long dispute took place with the King's treasurers, who claimed the right of visiting the hospital of St. James instead of the abbots. The verdict, given in favour of the abbot in 1324, was disregarded by his opponents, who finally, under Byrcheston's indolent rule, wrested the right from the abbey. In this verdict is given an elaborate account of St. James's Hospital, which was founded by a benevolent citizen, on land leased from the Abbot of Westminster, as a hospital for fourteen leprous maids. Henry VIII., early in his reign, obtained this



ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

OLD REFECTORY DOOR, AND WASHING PLACE.
(*See p. 65.*)

valuable land from the abbot in exchange, and upon it the present Palace of St. James stands.

Abbot Henley was a student rather than a man of action like his predecessors, and spent seven years of his abbacy with other Benedictine students at Gloucester Hall, Oxford. He died there, but was buried before the high altar in the Abbey. Although his successor, Byrcheston, was himself extravagant, and had dishonest people about him, yet he was a benefactor to the fabric. He went on with the building and repairs, which had been neglected for some time, and finished the eastern walk of the Cloisters, but had to sell the jewels belonging to the convent in order to pay the expenses. A terrible plague devastated the monastery in 1348-9, and twenty-six of the monks, including the abbot, died of it. Byrcheston himself lies by the Chapter House door, in that part of the Cloisters which he built.

The name of Simon Langham, the next abbot, is justly venerated. His figure stands with that of his successor, Litlington, who carried on his work, amongst the abbots, who were benefactors to the fabric, in the present north front. He was born at Langham, in Rutlandshire, and became a monk here under Henley. He was prior in the fatal plague year, and was elected abbot in May, going to the Papal Court at Avignon for confirmation soon after. Unlike his wasteful predecessor, Langham lived frugally, and compelled the monks by precept and example to do the same. He was, therefore, soon able to pay the debts which Byrcheston had incurred, and to save money on the abbot's income. Although no Benedictine had private property, everything being found for the monks—even his dress, bedding, pen, and tablets being, so to speak, common property—there were certain estates set apart for the abbot's expenses. Langham never accepted the customary personal gifts from the convent, and, in fact, set right all the abuses which had been sanctified by time, and brought the monks under good discipline again. For this a few of the elder monks, accustomed to lax rule, hated him, and he had "many ill tempers to deal with, some being insolent, others old and particular, some extravagant, others perverse." But from the wiser

brethren he won the name of the second "Founder" of the monastery.

Through Langham's influence Edward III., who was neither pious nor particularly attached to the clergy, was induced to show favour to Westminster, and so highly did he esteem the abbot that he made him Lord Treasurer in 1360, Bishop of Ely in 1362, Lord Chancellor in 1364, and finally, in 1366, Archbishop of Canterbury, to which see he was consecrated in the chapel of St. Nicholas. While he was abbot, Edward gave various gifts to the monastery, amongst others the relic which is best authenticated as genuine, St. Benedict's head, which had been given to Edward by the monastery at Fleury, where it is said to have been brought from Monte Casino.

In July, 1357, the earliest entry extant about wax for Edward I.'s cere cloth, was entered on the rolls, an entry constantly renewed under the Plantagenets. But the wording of the order, "according as it has been accustomed to be done," shows that this pious duty had not been omitted before. Edward III. had a special regard for the grandfather "of distinguished memory," whom he so much resembled, and at one time we find him providing wax lights to be burned round the tomb.

Langham resigned the abbacy in 1362, when he became a bishop, but his interest in the place remained, for during his life he gave money to continue the nave "where his father lay buried," and on his death he left a large part of his property to the fabric; his benefits amounted in all to £10,800. He also founded a chantry chapel in the Abbey, where prayers were to be said for the souls of his parents and himself.

Langham is the only Westminster abbot who became Archbishop of Canterbury, but his tenure of the see was short, for when, in 1368, the Pope gave him a cardinal's hat, he had to resign the Primacy. He spent the last eight years of his life at the Papal Court, receiving the bishopric of Preneste as a reward for his services from the Pope. He still loved Westminster, and had intended to spend his last years in the precincts; but he was attacked by paralysis in 1376, and died at Avignon, bequeathing his body to be buried in the "West Monastery, near

London." He was temporarily interred in the Carthusian Church at Avignon, whence, three years later, his remains were carried to the Abbey and placed under a fine tomb in the chapel of St. Benedict. The monument is in fair preservation, but a statue of St. Mary Magdalene which guarded the feet has disappeared, and the canopy was destroyed at the coronation of George I. Round the sides are the royal arms and those of Westminster, Canterbury, and Ely.

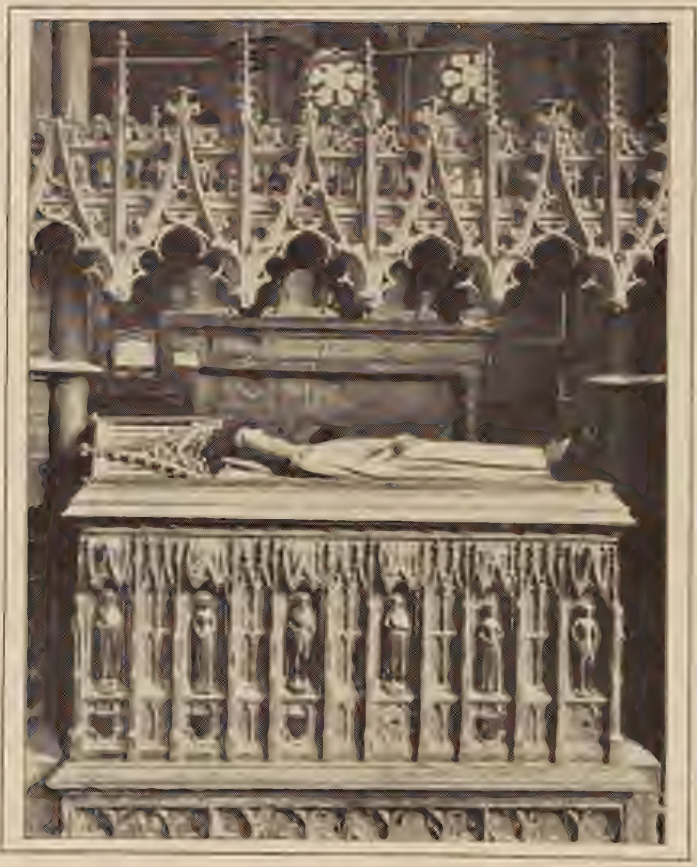
The prior, Nicholas Litlington, who succeeded Langham, was an excellent business man, and very active in superintending the repairs and additions to the building. He had been a monk here for many years, and was in high favour with both King and Queen. While prior he had improved the estates of Hyde (now Hyde Park), and Bamfleet in Essex, without any charge to the house, and for this he had an anniversary allowed him—an exceptional favour to a prior. The January before his election a gale had blown down most of the abbot's manor houses, but in the first three years of his abbacy all were rebuilt. Langham showed his opinion of Litlington's capacity by making him executor of his will, and with his bequest and gifts the new abbot was able to make large additions to the monastic buildings. To him we owe the South and West Cloisters, where his initials may be seen carved in the roof. His head is on one side of the arch leading from Dean's Yard to the Cloisters. Besides various domestic offices, a tower, water-mill, and granary, he built some part of the abbot's house, now the Deanery, including the famous "Long Room" and a private chapel leading out of it for the abbot's use.

The "College" Hall, the abbot's dining-hall, was also built in his time, and with the exception of part of the roof, which was restored in Elizabeth's reign, when the hall was granted for the use of the Queen's scholars, remains much as he left it. The famous "Jerusalem" Chamber belongs to this period, and was used as a withdrawing-room or great parlour by the abbots; but the "Jericho" parlour, the little ante-room leading to Jerusalem, was built later, probably by Islip. In the Dark Cloister is an old dwelling-house still called "Litlington's

Tower," in this abbot's memory. There has been much discussion over the uses to which the tower was put. It cannot have been the belfry, as some have supposed, for the building is not constructed to hold large bells. The Belfry Tower (used for the bells till the West Towers were built), which was pulled down in 1750, stood north of the Abbey, where the Sessions House now is, and is first mentioned as complete in a charter of Edward I., 1290; 13s. 4d. for task work on the belfry was paid in the fabric rolls of 1253. Litlington's little tower may have been the prior's house, and there are remains of a small chapel close by. The Jewel House, near the Chapter House, was built in or about this time, for in the last year of Edward III. the piece of ground where it stands was granted by the monastery to the King in exchange for "a licence to purchase in mortmain forty pounds a year." It was used at one time for the regalia, afterwards as a record office, and is now a museum of weights and measures. No abbot before Litlington, as Widmore justly observes, had ever set his mind more to the duty of improving the monastic buildings, which had been left unfinished and dilapidated for years.

Besides giving much plate, furniture, and vestments to the use of the convent, this abbot has left a memorial of his piety in the missal marked with his initials and printed in 1891 by the Henry Bradshaw Society. This Mass Book is named in the inventory of the vestry taken only two years (1388) after Litlington's death as a "good and large missal, the gift of the late Abbot Nicholas Lytlington." It is again mentioned in the inventory taken on the suppression of the convent in 1540, and is now in the Chapter Library, carefully preserved in a fireproof safe. The illuminated borders contain Litlington's cipher crowned, the same as that in the Cloisters, his arms and the arms of the Church. On the leaf which precedes the calendar of saints—wherein a high place is given to the Confessor—is an account, added in 1500, of some of the ceremonies after Islip's election, the oath he took, etc. Following the ordinary course of the mass comes the office for the anointing and crowning of the kings—and also the queens—of England, with a few directions added about royal

PORTION OF FRESCO IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE.



TOMB OF EDWARD III

PHOTOGRAPH BY CASSELL & CO., LTD.

funerals. This part of the MS. was extracted from it and copied by monkish scribes after Litlington's day, and under the name of the *Liber Regalis* exists in three separate volumes—the original one at Westminster, another, identical and by the same hand, but without the same number of notes as the Westminster copy, in the possession of Mr. Brooke (the royal arms of France are on the back of this copy), and another in the Bodleian Library. The Westminster copy is evidently the first and most important, as it contains a full-page illumination of the King on his throne. We shall have occasion to refer to this *Liber Regalis* in the account of Richard II.'s coronation.

Two years (1364) after Litlington's election an important and interesting person, who had held the same office, though without the formal title, as the modern Speaker of the House of Commons, under two kings was buried in St. Michael's Chapel. This was Sir William Trussell, who, at Kenilworth Castle in 1343, had, in the name of the English people, resigned his allegiance to Edward II., and broken his white wand of office before the assembled barons.

In Litlington's time, also, two Sovereigns were buried and one crowned in the Abbey. The first burial was that of the good Queen Philippa ; she died in 1369, and with her last breath desired to be buried here. Of her thirteen children, the youngest, Thomas of Woodstock, was the only one with her at the last, and he lies near her in St. Edward's Chapel. He was Constable of England and Duke of Gloucester, but offended his nephew, Richard II., who caused him to be smothered under a feather bed at Calais (1397). His body was first buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, where his widow's tomb is still ; but the Duke's coffin was afterwards removed by Henry IV. to the Confessor's Chapel, and above it was placed a fine brass, fragments of which only remain. Queen Philippa, of Flemish race, lies in a tomb made by a Flemish artist—Hawkins de Liége. Her monument was decorated with little marble images in " sweetly-carved niches " representing her relatives, besides gilt angels. Counting the figures on the grille which formerly protected it, there were once

seventy in all upon the tomb. The effigy of the Queen is interesting, as being the first portrait effigy in the Abbey ; it presents no ideal face, like Eleanor's, but the homely features of the middle-aged Flemish lady.

Edward, though not faithful to the memory of his departed wife, yet remembered her desire, and was buried close by her. After her death " his fortunes seemed to fall into eclipse," and the loss of his famous son, the Black Prince, in 1376, was a blow from which he never recovered. He had withdrawn himself for long from public affairs, and now health and courage deserted him, and he died prematurely old at the age of sixty-five (June 21st, 1377), after reigning fifty-one years. The effigy, which is really a conventional one, is traditionally supposed to be taken from a mask of his face after death. In his last hours his servants, and even Alice Perrers, his mistress, who robbed the very rings from his fingers, left him to die alone, attended by a single priest, who took pity on the mighty victor and soothed his last hours.

The honours denied to the broken-down old warrior at the end of his life were abundantly offered to his insensible corpse. All England was in mourning. The coffin was carried from Sheen " with a great pomp of sorrow, three of his sons—John of Gaunt, Edmund of Langley, Thomas of Woodstock—his son-in-law John, the valiant Duke of Bretagne, and all the barons and prelates of England following, the body was brought along through the City of London with open visage to Westminster, where it was solemnly interred." The wax (or rather, wooden) effigy borne behind the coffin is, with other kings and queens of ancient memory, amongst the battered remains called the " ragged regiment."

CHAPTER IX.

RICHARD II. AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE ABBEY.

Only three weeks after his grandfather's funeral (July 16th, 1377) the coronation of young Richard II. was celebrated with even more than the usual magnificence. On the preceding day the new king rode "bare headed" in full state from the Tower to the Abbey, and the custom of having a procession from the Tower, with pageants all along the streets, the day before each coronation, was thus inaugurated in his honour. A body of knights, the Knights of the Bath, was created by the King to attend him on this occasion, and appeared at every subsequent coronation till the end of the eighteenth century. Dymoke, the champion, is also expressly mentioned for the first time, though there is reason to believe that there had been a champion before.

Richard rose early on the morning of his coronation day and heard mass in the private chapel of Westminster Palace. Attended by a procession of clergy and nobles, he walked on scarlet cloth from the great hall to the Abbey, and above his head a blue silk canopy was borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. Archbishop Sudbury anointed the King as he lay prostrate before the altar, and then presented him to the people according to the usual custom, his youthful beauty rousing much enthusiasm among the assembled multitude. So long and hot was the ceremonial that the boy of ten, who had fasted since early dawn, was carried out fainting, and had to be borne on a litter to the palace. A note of discord was struck by the Bishop of Rochester, who warned the King in his sermon against excessive taxation.

Richard's beautiful face and figure, his high courage and personal qualities, made him at first deservedly popular, but his foolish favouritism and his headstrong temper

gradually undermined his influence, till his impatient subjects were glad to shake off his yoke. To Westminster, however, he must ever remain dear, for, like the Confessor and Henry III., he had a genuine love for the Abbey, and we have several memorials to remind us of his generosity to the fabric. His portrait, a contemporary likeness, hangs in the sanctuary. It represents Richard crowned and in his robes of state, seated in St. Edward's chair, for he revived the old custom of appearing crowned in the Abbey on St. Edward's feast, and had a special veneration for the Confessor, by whose name he was wont to swear his most solemn oaths.

In two places upon the walls of the Abbey, in the Muniment Room and in the little chapel* of St. Erasmus, memorials of Richard can still be faintly traced in the outlines of his favourite badge, the White Hart. He also gave money to repair the original thirteenth-century triple doorway at the end of the North Transept, and added a projecting porch. The name of Solomon's Porch, afterwards applied to the north door, was first given to this portal, which was elaborately painted and decorated with Richard's arms and badges, but became much dilapidated, and was cleared away late in the seventeenth century. One or two seventeenth century prints of it in its last days are extant—one in Dugdale's Monasticon, and others, showing the ruin of the thirteenth-century front after the removal of the porch had exposed it to view—but unfortunately, there is no earlier drawing of either.

Before riding out to Smithfield to quell Wat Tyler's rebellion, Richard heard mass in the Abbey, and consulted a hermit who lived in the precincts as to the success of his venture. The same hermit, or his successor, was afterwards applied to by Henry V. before one of his French expeditions. The turbulence of Richard's subjects is well marked by the fact that the sanctuary at Westminster was three times violated during his reign. First when John Mangett, Marshal of Marshalsea, was dragged forcibly away by Tyler's men as he clung to one of the slender twisted pillars round the shrine. Again when Lord Chief Justice Tresilian took sanctuary, and was torn

* This was painted after Richard's time.

thence by the King's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, and Sir John Cobham, and hanged at Tyburn. The abbot's anger was naturally great: the two noblemen had to sue for pardon, and no doubt compensate him in money before he was appeased.

The most important occasion of all, however, and long remembered with shuddering horror in the Abbey, was when, in 1378, the sanctuary was broken into. The story is a long one, but rich in details which illustrate the manners of the age. At the victory won by Richard's noble father, the Black Prince, at Najara in 1367, two squires captured a Castilian noble—the Earl of Denia—and brought him as their lawful prize to England. The earl was allowed to return to Spain to collect the money for his ransom, leaving his son as a hostage, but, as he died before he had paid the ransom, the son remained in captivity. Eleven years elapsed, during which time one of the squires—Frank de Haule—died, leaving his share in the captive to his son Robert, a fatal legacy as it turned out, for when John of Gaunt laid claim to the Castilian crown in right of his wife, Constance, he desired to propitiate the Spaniards, and persuaded Richard, then a minor, to allow him to demand the young Earl of Denia from his guardians in order to send him back. Haule and Schakell were loth to give up their hostage, who seems to have been leading a very happy life, and hid him. John of Gaunt, supported by two of the Council, immediately committed the squires to the Tower, whence they escaped and took sanctuary at Westminster. Under almost any other of our early kings the sanctuary would have been inviolable. But Richard II. was only a boy of twelve, and his Council ruled supreme. Sir Ralph Ferrers and Sir Alan Boxhull, Constable of the Tower, determined to seize the escaped prisoners by force, if necessary, and Holinshed has given the following graphic account of the next act in this bloody drama :—

"The morrow, therefore, after St. Laurence Day, being the eleventh of August, these two knights, accompanied with certain of the King's servants and other, to the number of fifty persons in armour, came into the church at Westminster whilst the said esquires were there

hearing of High Mass which was then in celebrating ; and first laying hands upon John Schakell, used the matter so with him that they drew him forth of the church and led him straight to the Tower. But when they came to Robert Haule, and fell in reasoning with him, he would not suffer them to come within his reach, and, perceiving they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falchion, or short sword, which he had girt to him, and therewith laid so freely about him, traversing twice round about the monks' choir, that till they had beset him on each side they could do him no hurt. Howbeit at length, when they had got him at that advantage, one of them clove his head to the very brains, and another thrust him through the body behind with a sword, and so they murthered him among them ; they slew also one of the monks that would have saved the esquire's life."

Another writer says that Haule fell pierced with twelve wounds before the Prior's stall (now the Sub-Dean's). The spot was long marked by some Latin lines, speaking of the day as the feast of St. Taurinus, who was a thirteenth-century Bishop of Evreux ; and Haule's body, first buried there, was afterwards removed to where it now lies, with Schakell's, in the South Transept. Both Church and laity rose in protest at this unparalleled sacrilege. Parliament was suspended rather than meet in the polluted precincts ; the Archbishop and five suffragans excommunicated the two guilty knights, and the Bishop of London repeated this sentence thrice a week at St. Paul's Cross. John of Gaunt, who seems to have been really guiltless of the outrage, vainly used the boy King's authority to silence the London prelate, and summoned him to Windsor. The Bishop refused to obey, and the incensed Duke cried " he would gladly go to London and fetch that disobedient prelate in despite of those ribaulds (for so he termed them), the Londoners. These words procured the Duke much ill-will, as well of the Londoners as of others, for it was commonly said that whatsoever had been done at Westminster concerning the murder there committed in the church was done by his commandment."*

* Holinshed.

A fifteenth-century chronicle printed by the Camden Society says that the King (*i.e.* John of Gaunt, speaking through the King's mouth) "sent many tymes his writtes to the Abbot of Westmynstre for to appere before him, and for to cece of his cursyng, and that he sholde halowe agayn his chirche and serve God therynne after the fundacion thereof, and all the matter sholde be brozt (brought) to a goode ende. But the abbot wolde not appere ne cece (nor cease) of the castyng of the censuris of the Chirche, for he said that the Chirche of Westmynstre was halowed be Saint Peter by myrakille (miracle), and therefore it nedid not to be halowed of non othir manne, and shewde and broughte forth the cronicle how Saint Peter halowed it."

Litlington, who was energetic and fond of a fray, besides cursing the sacrilegious nobles, took active measures to get redress. He first shut up the church for four months and had much censing and many ceremonies to cleanse it from the sacrilege. He then, in Parliament at Gloucester, boldly protested against the violators of the sanctuary, and brought up the old legend of the consecration of the church by St. Peter as an authentic argument to support the privileges of the sanctuary. His speech was so successful that in the next Parliament at Westminster it was ordained that all these privileges should remain inviolable, the only change made being that henceforth the right of sanctuary should be refused to debtors. Ferrers and Boxhull had to pay a heavy fine—£200 each—and do penance in the Abbey for their sin. Schakell, the survivor, had to deliver up his foreign captive; but Holinshed notes, as a "strange and wonderful" fact, that the young Earl turned out to be "the very groom that had served him (Schakell) all the time of his trouble, as an hired servant, in prison and out of prison, and in danger of life when his other master was murthered. Whereas, if he would have uttered himself he might have been entertained in such honourable sort as for a prisoner of his degree had been requisite, so that the faithful love and assured constancy in this noble gentleman was highly commended and praised and no less marvelled at of all men."

After this episode Litlington might have spent the

remainder of his days in well-earned repose; but so great was his restless energy that in the last year of his life the warlike churchman prepared to defend his country. There had been rumours in the air of an approaching invasion by the French, and the old abbot, then nearly seventy, actually armed himself and two of his monks, with the intention of going to the sea coast to help repel the invaders. But the rumour proved to be without foundation, and the monks sold their armour; one of them—John Canterbury—having so huge a stature that no one in London could wear his suit. Litlington passed peacefully away, full of years, on November 29th, 1386, at the abbot's manor house of Neate, near London, and was buried beneath the altar in the chapel of St. Blaize at the end of the South Transept.*

William de Colchester, who succeeded Litlington, spent most of his life—sixty years—in the monastery, and ruled over it for thirty-four years, longer than any previous abbot. He had been concerned in the business affairs of the monastery when comparatively a junior monk, and had been employed to manage a lawsuit with the canons of St. Stephen's at the Papal Court for two years (1377-79). Three years after his return he was made archdeacon and given a house and garden and a salary of six marks, but he had again to spend some time at Rome before he was elected abbot. Early in Colchester's time (1390) another piece of the old nave was taken down, and Richard gave lands and money to continue the building, but it came to a sudden end during the troubles of the last years of the century, and was not resumed again until the reign of Henry V.

Domestic sorrow, forerunner of much unhappiness, overwhelmed the young King when, on June 7th, 1394, he lost his beloved wife, Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., and sister of King Wenceslaus of Bohemia; she died of the plague. To Anne, who was patroness of the Wycliffites, and whose troops of foreign servants annoyed the English, Richard owed much of his early unpopularity, and by his violent behaviour on her death he added another grievance to the long account against him.

* According to tradition Litlington was the bastard son of Edward III.

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST.

FUNERAL OF RICHARD II.
(*See p.* 91.)

He cursed the palace of Sheen, where she died, and razed its walls to the ground, displaying a frenzy of uncontrollable grief which almost amounted to madness.

The funeral took place on Monday, the 3rd of August. All the peers were ordered to be in London, with their wives, on the previous Wednesday, and to accompany the body from Sheen to St. Paul's, and thence to the Abbey. Greater honours had never before been paid to a Queen Consort, and Richard showed his wonted recklessness in the enormous expenses of the funeral, which are especially commented on by the chroniclers. Hundreds of wax candles were brought from Flanders, and the illumination was, says Froissart, "so great that nothing like to it was never before seen." The Earl of Arundel absented himself from the procession, and coming late to the Abbey, asked the royal permission to leave early. Richard, in a passion of fury, struck the Earl to the ground with such violence that his blood stained the sacred pavement, and the service had to be delayed while a hasty reconciliation was effected between King and noble.

Besides giving £200 annually for an anniversary service, Richard caused a splendid tomb to be prepared for himself and his wife at the head of Edward III.'s. According to the indentures the monument was to be completed in 1397, at the cost of £670, and the names of the workmen, all Londoners, who made it have been preserved.

Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest made the effigies, which are portraits, while John Hardy painted the wooden canopy, where traces of the arms of Bohemia can still be seen. All over the figures and the metal cover of the tomb are stamped the family badges, the broomscod of the Plantagenets, Richard's own white hart, the Black Prince's rising sun, the lions and ostrich feathers of Bohemia, and the eagles of the Empire. Once, before the arms were stolen away, the King held the Queen's right hand tenderly in his—pledge of his unalterable devotion; but many years were yet to pass before his bones were to be laid, as he desired, beside hers in the tomb below.

Incurable in his blind favouritism, Richard, in spite of

the mutterings and discontent of his people, insisted on burying his Lord Treasurer, John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, in St. Edward's Chapel (1395), the only person not of royal blood there interred. Much envy was caused by this, but the objections of the monastic authorities themselves were overruled by costly presents, Richard giving a rich cope to the abbot worth 100 marks, and the bishop's executors another of less value, besides 500 marks from the King to found an anniversary. The beautiful brass represents the bishop in his mass vestments, and is one of the few brasses still extant in the Abbey. Waltham is not the only courtier of his time in the Abbey, though singled out from the rest by the position of his grave. Sir John Golofre, Ambassador to France, was buried by the King's orders in the next year (1396) in the South Ambulatory below the then unfinished tomb, destined for his unfortunate royal master. He was the husband of a great lady—Philippa, daughter of Lord Mohun—who survived him more than thirty years, and has a fine tomb in St. Nicholas's Chapel. She was the first of the noble dames whose monuments afterwards filled up these little side chapels. Of her two husbands, Edward, Duke of York (the grandson of Edward III.), was the most important, and after his death at Agincourt his duchess was permitted to hold the lordship of the Isle of Wight for her life, although she afterwards married again. In St. Edmund's Chapel will be found the tomb of another of Richard's court: Sir Bernard Brocas (1396), whose son—not himself, as the inscription erroneously states—was beheaded for conspiring to reinstate the deposed king in 1399-1400. The head of the effigy rests on a helmet surmounted by his crest—a Moor's head—which gave rise to a legend, told long afterwards by the Abbey vergers to Addison, that he had cut off the head of the king of the Moors.

As Waltham may be called the earliest statesman buried in the Abbey, so Robert de Waldeby (died 1397), in St. Edmund's Chapel, has been pointed out by Dean Stanley as the first representative of literature there interred. For he, the chosen champion of the Black Prince, was not only tutor to young Richard, and by his influence

made Archbishop of York, but was also renowned for his learning both in medical (he was a physician in his youth) and divine science. Near his may be seen the low altar tomb of Richard's aunt, Eleanor de Bohun, who, after the treacherous murder of her husband, Thomas of Woodstock, though the greatest heiress in England, and therefore sure of a second husband, retired to the nunnery of Barking, and spent the two years left to her of life in a cloister.

In the year 1399 the rebellion, which had long been smouldering against Richard's misgovernment, broke out. The church, the nobility, and the people all hailed his cousin, Henry of Lancaster, eldest son of John of Gaunt, as their deliverer when, during Richard's absence in Ireland, he landed in England. The Abbot of Westminster was with the King, but whither his sympathies tended is shown by the fact that, on the Michaelmas Day after their return, he was one of the commissioners sent to the Tower to receive Richard's resignation of the crown. No doubt he had previously come to an understanding with the Duke of Lancaster, but it was given out that the Prior of Westminster had had a vision of the fall of the unfortunate Richard. Scarcely was the deed of resignation signed than Lancaster was proclaimed King by the title of Henry IV., and crowned on the Confessor's feast day with the omission of no ceremony which might compensate for the defects in his title. The famous stone of Scone, which had been used since the days of Edward I., is first expressly mentioned in the account of the coronation, and Henry was anointed with the holy oil which was given originally by the Virgin Mary to St. Thomas of Canterbury in his exile, with the promise that any king anointed with it should be a merciful ruler and a champion of the church. Afterwards the oil was lost, but the secret of its hiding-place was revealed by a hermit to Henry's father, and by him to his brother, the Black Prince. Since then the golden eagle containing it had been kept in the Tower, and, although overlooked at Richard's coronation, had been since found. Richard took it to Ireland, where, however, Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to use it, as he said a king could

not be anointed twice, referring to the anointing at Westminster.

Whatever his private feelings, Abbot Colchester certainly acquiesced quietly in the change of dynasty ; and the chronicler's account of his share in a conspiracy to replace Richard early in 1400, and his subsequent death of a palsy brought on by fear, is quite unfounded. As a matter of fact, not only did the abbot live twenty years longer, but one of the conspirators, the Bishop of Carlisle, who had once been a Westminster monk, was placed under Colchester's care, and his death after his pardon, rather from the terror he had suffered than from sickness, probably gave rise to the false anecdote about the abbot.

Shakespeare, in his play of *Henry IV.*, accepts the story as genuine :

> " The Grand Conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,
> With clog of conscience and sour melancholy,
> Hath yielded up his body to the grave."

On the funeral day a dirge was sung in the Abbey for the unhappy Sovereign, who had loved this place so well, and whose melancholy face in the well-known portrait still reminds us of his many benefactions to this foundation. While Henry IV. has no place amongst our benefactors, Richard II. stands side by side, on the modern north front, with the fifth Henry, who made what reparation he could by placing the deposed monarch's body in its proper resting-place.

Both archbishops joined in the coronation of the first Lancastrian Sovereign. Henry's father, John of Gaunt, was the third son of Edward III. By his marriage with the heiress of Lancaster—the " Duchess Blanche " celebrated in Chaucer's two poems—he had acquired the Duchy of Lancaster, besides property in eighteen counties of England and in Wales to boot ; so that wealth, influence, and the power of the sword all combined in Henry's favour. The crown was destined ultimately to fall to the descendants of Catherine Swynford, who had taken charge of Henry and his sisters in their youth. She was first the mistress, and afterwards the third wife, of John of Gaunt, and sister-in-law to the first Duchess's

FATAL SEIZURE OF HENRY IV.
(*See p.* 93.)

CORONATION PROCESSION OF HENRY V.
(*See p.* 94.)

eulogist Chaucer. Yet before the union of her great-grandson, Henry VII., with Elizabeth of York, Henry's own family and that of the Yorkist house were destined to lose the throne, each in turn, and years of blood had to be waded through until Lancaster and York met in the great Tudor dynasty.

Richard had to be swept from the new king's path before he felt any security on the throne. The manner of his departure remains a mystery to this day: whether his skull was cleft by Sir Piers Exton; whether he was starved by his cousin's orders, or starved himself to death. The first story is disproved by the fact that when the tomb in the Abbey was opened, in 1871, no trace of a blow could be seen on the skull; and the tale that the chaplain was buried instead of the King has long been disposed of. Richard died at Pontefract Castle some time in 1400, and, to disprove the rumours of a violent end, Henry IV. caused the body to be carried through London to Langley, where it was buried in an obscure grave by the pious care of the Dominican Friars; it was destined ultimately to lie in the royal tomb on which Richard himself had expended so much money.

Froissart, the contemporary chronicler, who remembered the rejoicings over young Richard's birth at Bordeaux, gives the following account of this funeral procession. After frankly confessing he could not tell by what means he died, he says: "But this King Richard dead was laid in a litter and set in a chaire covered with baudkin, and four horses all black in the chaire, and two men in black leading the chaire, and four knights, all in black, following. Then the chaire departed from the Tower of London and was brought along through London fair and softly till they came into Cheapside, whereas the chief assembly was, and there the chaire rested the space of two hours. Thither came in and out more than 20,000 persons, men and women, to see him whereas he lay, his head on a black cushion and his visage open. Some had on him pity and some none, but said he had long ago deserved death."

CHAPTER X.

THE VICTOR OF AGINCOURT AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE ABBEY.

This year 1399-1400, which marked the change of dynasties, is memorable in the annals of the Abbey as that which brought a distinguished tenant to one of the houses built up against the old Lady Chapel. The favourite and friend of John of Gaunt and of his Duchess Blanche, Chaucer held various small offices about the Court, and in 1386 was appointed Clerk of the Works at the royal palace of Westminster. About a year before his death he took a lease of the house referred to, for fifty-three years, at an annual rent of £2 13s. 4d., and it was perhaps here, in the shadow of the Abbey, that he composed those lines, supposed to be his last, and written on his death-bed, called "The Good Counsel" of Chaucer. When he died (October 25th, 1400) he was buried in the South Transept, according to the tradition, "before St. Benet's altar"—*i.e* within St. Benedict's Chapel. He received burial here, from the accident of his dwelling close by rather than because he was a poet, for several centuries were to pass before the place was looked on as peculiarly dedicated to poets. Thus the father of English poetry lay for a hundred and fifty years with no better monument than a leaden plate, "honginge on a pylere," as Caxton, the printer, has recorded, "whereon was wreton his epitaphyre maad by a Poete Laureat," one Surigonius, of Milan.

In 1555 Nicholas Brigham, an Oxford student, and a poet himself, determined to show honour to the memory of Chaucer, and erected the present tomb; at the back of it was a Latin epitaph and a picture of the poet, all traces of which painting have long disappeared. The tomb itself is of a different period from that in which Brigham lived

—about seventy years earlier in style—and it has been conjectured that the latter bought one of the old tombs which, under Edward VI., were turned out of the Grey-friars and other city churches and sold for ridiculously small sums. The exact place of Chaucer's grave has never been determined. Dart says his stone of "broad grey marble, as I take it, was not long since remaining, but was taken up when Mr. Dryden's monument was erected, and sawn to mend the pavements." This agrees with the tradition already mentioned, and is probably true.

During the reign of Henry IV. there were no pageants or great ceremonies in the Abbey save the coronation of his second wife, Joan of Navarre.

As Henry grew to middle age—he was forty-six when he died—the anxieties and disappointments of his short reign, added to the burden of various diseases (he had heart disease, besides other maladies), weighed so heavily upon him that he determined to follow the example of his compeers and join in the last Crusade. To Jerusalem he would go, and there, according to prophecy, end his days. But his plans were frustrated. He came up to Westminster to be present at the Parliament which met in the winter of 1412, and to superintend the preparations for his expedition. But it was too late. He was seized by a fit as he knelt before the shrine, and was carried to the abbot's withdrawing-room, the Jerusalem Chamber, probably the only room at hand with a fireplace, where he died, and thus the prophecy was fulfilled. Shakespeare lays the scene of the King's illness in the palace, and makes him exclaim:

> "But bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die."

The author of the "Continuatio Historiæ Croylandensis," the oldest authority we have for the account of Henry's death, and Fabyan, both say the King was not moved at all, but died (on March 20th, 1413), in the chamber where he was first taken. "After the feest of Christenmasse, whyle he was makynge his prayers at Seynt Edwardes shrine, to take there his leve and so to spede hym upon his journaye, he became so syke that

such as were about hym feryd that he wolde have dyed right there, wherefore they for his comforte bare hym into the abbottes place and lodged hym in a chamber, and there upon a paylet layde him before the fyre, where he laye in great agony a certayne of tyme. At length, when he was comyn to himselfe, nat knowynge where he was, he freyned of such as were then about hym what place that was, the which shewyd to hym that it belongyd unto the Abbot of Westminster, and, for he felt hymself so syke, he commanded to ask if that chambre had any specyall name, wherunto it was answeryd that it was named Iherusalem (Jerusalem). Than sayd the Kynge: 'Louange (praise) be to the Fader of heven, for nowe I knowe I shall dye in this chambre accordyng to the prophecye of me beforesayd that I shulde dye in Jerusalem.' And so after he made hymself redy, and dyed shortly after."

Here, in this chamber, where we still see the busts of father and son, must have taken place the famous scene of the Prince's theft of the crown, an anecdote which, whether true or false, lives for us in Shakespeare's play. There was no special connection between Henry IV. and Westminster. By the King's desire his body was conveyed to Canterbury and interred north of the shrine of Thomas à Becket. Some chroniclers say that this was done because Henry's conscience would not allow him to rest near Richard's tomb, but the fact was that all the places round St. Edward's shrine were occupied. The relics had afterwards to be taken away to make room for Henry V.'s tomb.

The coronation of Henry V. took place in a snowstorm on April 9th, the Sunday before Easter, and once more the people hailed a popular hero as their Sovereign. The most recent investigations, while destroying the legend of the madcap prince, leave us a king of whom England did well to be proud. "Of stature more than the common sort, of body lean, well-membered, and strongly made, a face beautiful, somewhat long necked, black (brown) hair," he was one not given "to vice or gluttony," and "precociously distinguished as a soldier and a statesman." His piety was great, and the mys-

terious death and obscure burial of his cousin so weighed upon his conscience that "for the grete and tender love that he had to him," he made what reparation he could to the dethroned monarch's remains. The Pope had enjoined Henry IV. to say masses for ever for Richard's soul. The young king, therefore, founded several religious houses, one at Sheen, to fulfil his father's penance. From Fabyan again we hear the details of the removal of Richard's coffin to the tomb so long ago prepared for it in the Abbey:

"Anone as Kyng Henry was crowned, and the solemnitye of the feest of Eester was passyd, he sent unto the fryers of Langley, where the corps of Kynge Richarde was buryed, and caused it to be taken out of the erth, and so with reverence and solempntie to be conveyed unto Westmynster, and upon the south syde of Seynt Edwarde's shryne, there honourably to be buryed by Quene Anne, his wife, which there before tyme was entered (interred). And after a solempne (in)terment there holden he provyded that iii tapers shulde brenne daye and night about his grave whyle the world endureth, and one daye in the weke a solempne dirge, and upon the morrowe a masse of Requiem by note. After which masse endyd to be gyven wekely unto pore people xis. viiid. in pens, and upon the day of his anniversary after the sayd masse of Requiem is songe, to be yerely destrybuted for his soule xx.li. (pounds) in d."

Colchester was now able to push on the new part of the nave, for the young King started his reign with a gift of £66 13s. 4d., and continued to give money to the fabric from his private purse, as well as an annual 1,000 marks from the treasury, so that from 1413 to 1426, while his son was too young to divert the money to other purposes, the building went steadily on.

On the 7th of April, 1414, Sir John Windsore was buried in the North Ambulatory, where a brass plate still marks the spot. A soldier himself, he was nephew to a warrior of repute in the wars of Edward III., and fought at Shrewsbury with Henry IV. Unlike his contemporaries, Sir John at the end of his life no longer gloried in his military exploits, but, "repenting of his

bloodshed, finished his life in piety." In the following year, 1415, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, Richard Courtenay, died at Harfleur just before the battle of Agincourt, and was nursed with much tenderness by the King, who, even in the midst of his great victory, remembered his friend, and caused his body to be conveyed to Westminster Abbey.

London went mad with joy at the news of Agincourt. A Te Deum was sung at St. Paul's and other churches, and a day of solemn thanksgiving was fixed for the 23rd of November, on which occasion the Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor, went in state from St. Paul's to the Abbey and offered at the shrine, while the monks and friars "of whatever order, set out from their different houses about nine of the clock in solemn procession to the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster, and at the same time went thither likewise the new Mayor, with his court of Aldermen and all the livery men, who all offered at St. Edward's shrine. After which offering he went and took his charge, and then all returned with great rejoicing. The same morning the Queen* and the nobility, with all her attendants, went to the aforesaid shrine and made offerings on account of the aforesaid victory."

Shortly afterwards, December 1st, the public joy was tempered by a funeral service, also held in the Abbey, for the Duke of York and the other English who had fallen at Agincourt. Of Agincourt we are reminded in the Chapel of St. Paul by the tomb of Ludovick Robsert, Lord Bourchier, who was, according to tradition, made Henry's standard-bearer for his exploits on that great day. He survived his royal leader, and became Chamberlain to young Henry, who, when he died in 1431, caused a tomb, resplendent with arms and mottoes, to be built over his grave. Amongst the coats of arms Dart believes he found the arms of the Swynfords, Chaucer's wife's relatives.

Five years later—years passed by the English king chiefly abroad—Henry returned to his country, and celebrated with great pomp the coronation of his French

* This must have been the Queen-Mother, Joan of Navarre.

Queen, Catherine, in the Abbey. This coronation must have been the last ceremony in which the aged Abbot Colchester took part, for his long rule came to an end on the 1st of October in this year (1420). He was buried under an altar tomb in the little chapel of St. John the Baptist, where his crumbling effigy, with the initials "W. C." on the pillow, may still be seen. Much praise is given by the chroniclers to the shrewdness and wisdom of this abbot, and certainly in his time we hear of none of the quarrels so common between Westminster and other Abbeys. Henry's opinion of him is shown by the fact that he sent him to the Council of Constance to represent the English Church, with an escort of sixty horsemen (October 20, 1414). This same year there was great mortality in the monastery, thirteen monks dying, one of whom—Ralph Selby—had held various ecclesiastical preferments, and was also an executor of Waltham's will. The chronicler, Richard of Cirencester (d. 1401), who carried his chronicle as late as 1348, was a monk here in Colchester's time.

Colchester's successor, Richard de Harweden, had been a brother for twenty-two years, and held the responsible office of *custos novi operis* (overseer of the new works); he was also one of the treasurers who had charge of the money given for the fabric, and the building of the nave went on steadily during his abbacy. Before he became abbot a Royal Commission was issued to Richard "Harowden" (1413) appointing him to take charge of the building. With him was associated one Richard de Whittington, who was identified by Mr. Lysons in his biography of Sir Richard Whittington with the famous Lord Mayor of London. But there is absolutely no evidence for this beyond the fact that Whittington lived at this time, and that in 1415 there is an entry in the minutes of the Council that the Mayor should ask the advice of a *Whittington* about some improvements in the city. The Whittington referred to in both documents was, however, probably merely an architect, and no city dignitary. In the accounts of these commissioners for the three first years of Henry's reign are items such as the purchase and carriage of stone from Reigate,

Stapleton, and Bere, and of ragstone; of twenty-four marble pillars with their freightage, and of lead for one side of the nave roof. Also a receipt for £1,397 6s. 8d. in six sums from the Royal Exchequer at various times, and one from the King's own hands.

The great event of Abbot Harweden's time was the erection of the Chantry Chapel in memory of the victor of Agincourt and his interment in the resting-place of the kings. Such were Henry's benefactions that it was no wonder his funeral was the most magnificent royal burial ever seen before in the Abbey. Henry V., short-lived like his father, died at Vincennes the 31st of August, 1422, of pleurisy. In his will, dated the year of the battle of Agincourt, he had chosen his sepulchre amongst the kings in the only available space left in the Royal Chapel—at the extreme east, where the relics had hitherto been kept. Henry left elaborate directions for a chantry chapel, with steps for ascent and descent, so high that the people below might see the priests officiating, to be raised above his own tomb. Within this chapel was to be an altar dedicated to the Annunciation, where three monks were to say perpetual masses for his soul—money, plate, and investments being left for the purpose. Here the cupboards prepared for the relics, but which do not seem to have been used for them, on each side of the altar may still be seen, with the curious old bolts which secured the doors. The chest containing the relics was removed, while the chapel was building, to the space between Henry III.'s tomb and the shrine, where it remained till 1460.

In no other part of the Abbey can the traces of the monastic times, when the church was the scene of many a pilgrimage, be so clearly seen, and the steps up to the chapel are worn and hollowed away by the countless pilgrims, who painfully dragged themselves on their knees up to the altar to hear masses for their late Sovereign's soul.

The King's last wishes were carried out in every particular, and great preparations were made in the Abbey for the funeral during the two months which elapsed before the coffin arrived at Westminster, and the space intended for his tomb was cleared. The body

meantime was embalmed and removed to Paris, where a great requiem mass was celebrated at Nôtre Dame, the French offering large sums of money in a vain attempt to obtain the honour of possessing the remains of one who was their Sovereign's acknowledged heir. Early in November the splendid funeral *cortège* started for the coast by way of Rouen, where another funeral service was held with much pomp. Upon the coffin, which was placed in an open chariot drawn by four horses, was laid an effigy of the late monarch made of boiled leather, the face, which was turned upwards, elaborately painted after Henry's likeness. The figure was clothed in the royal robes, upon the head was a crown, and in the hands a sceptre and ball of gold, adorned with precious stones. Beneath it was a coverlet of vermilion silk. In every town where the procession rested for the night, masses were said for the King's soul, and the citizens of highest rank bore a silken canopy over the effigy. Round the funeral car pressed a crowd of men in white, carrying nearly a thousand torches. Priests chanted the offices for the dead all the way. Behind the royal household followed the King of Scots, as chief mourner, the great nobles of France and England, and the King's relatives, the widowed Queen and her ladies coming about two miles in the rear of the procession. From Dover the funeral passed by Canterbury and Rochester to London, where a number of bishops and mitred abbots in their copes met it, and the offices for the dead were chanted as the crowd of ecclesiastics passed over London Bridge to St. Paul's, where, in the presence of the Parliament, another funeral mass was sung. The funeral in the Abbey was, however, the most magnificent of all.

"With such solemn ceremonies, mourning of lords, prayer of priests, and such lamenting of commons as never before then the like was seen in England, Henry V. was laid in a most sumptuous tomb at the east of Edward the Confessor's shrine." Gorgeous was the show of coats of arms borne on banners behind the effigy; there were the royal lions of England, the fleurs-de-lys of France, and the family badges, which are repeated so often on the chantry chapel.

The King's three chargers, draped in black, and loaded with the royal arms and accoutrements, were solemnly led by armed knights right up the nave to the high altar.

The chantry chapel and tomb were begun at once; thirty-six tons of Caen stone, costing £12, were brought for the purpose by the Clerk of the Works, John Arderne, in the first year of Henry VI., and he received £23 6s. 8d. for making the tomb. By 1431 it must have been completed, as Roger Johnson, a London smith, was then employed on the iron work, the western part of which remains in its place, while a few broken fragments of the grille still exist in the Triforium. Queen Catherine presented the effigy, of which only a battered wooden hulk remains; it was once covered with plates of gold and silver, and had a head of massive silver—all stolen by robbers, who broke into the Abbey "in the night season" in 1546. Although a writ of the Privy Council ordered search to be made for the guilty persons, they were never discovered. Not content with stripping the effigy bare, the thieves also carried off a silver plate upon which was inscribed the following distich:—

> "Dux Normanorum verus Conquestor eorum
> Heres Francorum decessit et Hector corum,"

roughly translated by Weever in the rhyme:—

> "Here Norman's Duke, so still'd by conquest just,
> True heir of France, great Hector lies in dust."

On the panels round the base of the tomb were Henry's coats of arms chased and enamelled.

This beautiful stone chapel, for which the whole eastern end of the Confessor's chapel was cleared, took, quite undesignedly—for the fifteenth-century initial letter is different—the shape of our modern H, and with that disregard for the art of former times so often shown in architecture, encroaches upon the tombs of the two Queens, Eleanor and Philippa, on the western side, and forms an arch over the Ambulatory on the east. Here, within and without the chantry chapel, are carved the figures of the two historical "founders" of the Abbey, the Confessor and Henry III., with various saints,

amongst them Henry V.'s own patrons, St. George of England and St. Denis of France (the latter is holding his head in his hand), besides ecclesiastics. The figure of the Virgin over the altar was, like most of the other central saints above the altars in the Abbey, taken down either under the rule of Henry VIII. and his minister Cromwell, or of the first Protestant King, Edward VI. ; otherwise the chapel is little hurt by the ravages of time. On either side of the arch is depicted the coronation of the king ; and against the eastern wall the great victor is shown on horseback, armed at all points, leaping a stream. Behind him are the tents of his warriors. The other decorations on the chapel consist of Henry's own badge, the cresset light burning, typifying the shining virtues of the King, "a light and guide to his people to follow him in all virtue and honour." To the post upon which is the light are chained the collared swans and antelopes of the De Bohuns, conspicuous above and around them are the arms of England and France. Upon a wooden bar are the battered remains of Henry's shield, saddle, and helmet, once glittering with golden fleurs-de-lys, and covered with blue velvet. Though the casque is not, as was traditionally supposed, the helm of Agincourt, but a tilting helmet supplied for the funeral, yet it and the other accoutrements were actually carried up the Abbey on the great day of Henry's burial, and were placed upon this bar as a lasting memorial to the warlike qualities of this mighty prince. Even before the glories had departed from the gorgeous trophies of Henry's prowess all that he had won for the English crown was lost by his feeble son.

CHAPTER XI.

THE VISITS OF HENRY VI. TO THE ABBEY, AND THE CIVIL WARS.

Henry VI., an infant when his father died, was not crowned till November 6th, 1429, nine years after his accession, and even then he was the youngest Sovereign ever anointed King of England. Yet there was none of the joyousness of childhood about the serious boy, who sat in St. Edward's chair crushed by the weight of his robes and his crown, "beholding all the people about sadly yet wisely." A month later he received in Paris the crown of France—an empty honour soon to be reft from him. During his boyhood, while his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, ruled his kingdoms and fought his battles, his mother superintended the erection of her royal husband's chantry chapel, and, having thus fulfilled her wifely duty, demeaned herself in the eyes of the English people by her second marriage with a subject. Yet by this marriage with Owen Tudor, who claimed descent from the Welsh kings, Catherine was no longer only the mother of a Sovereign whose line was doomed to come to an untimely end, but also the ancestress of the great Tudor monarchs. Unconscious, however, of the future fame of her children's children, the Lady Catherine died obscurely in the Abbey at Bermondsey, whither she retired for the last few years of her life.

Her son Henry VI. buried her in the Lady Chapel (February 8th, 1438), where a marble tomb was raised over her remains. Yet barely sixty years had passed before the old Lady Chapel gave place to the new one, and Henry VII. allowed the tomb of his grandmother to be destroyed with the rest, and her coffin to be placed above ground beside the monument to her royal husband, Henry V. It is perhaps scarcely fair to accuse the first

FUNERAL OF HENRY V.
(*See p. 99.*)

ABBOT KIRTON REFUSING SANCTUARY TO ELEANOR COBHAM.
(*See p.* 105.)

Tudor king of intentional disrespect: it is more probable that the coffin was only temporarily moved, to be re-interred when the new chapel should be ready, and that Henry VIII., who neither had nor professed to have any reverence for the Abbey, neglected to find a suitable resting-place for the remains of his noble ancestress. In any case, the open coffin lay for about 300 years exposed to the gaze of the vulgar, and by the seventeenth century many strange and fabulous legends had grown up to account for this neglect. The historians of the Abbey in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all speak of "the wooden chest or coffin wherein part of the skeleton and parched body of Katharine of Valois from the waist upward is to be seen," and how it might be "handled of any who will much desire it, and that by her own appointment (as he who showeth the tombs will tell you by tradition), in regard of her disobedience to her husband for being delivered of her son Henry at Windsore, the place which he forbade;" or, according to others, because of her second marriage, obviously a ridiculous reason to account for the neglect shown by the offspring of that marriage.

Pepys tells us how he went to the Abbey on Shrove Tuesday (1669) "and here we did see by particular favour" (*i.e.* by administering a tip to the guide) "the body of Queen Katharine of Valois, and I had the upper part of her body in my hand, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queene, and that this was my birthday, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a Queene. But here this man, who seems to understand well, tells me that the saying is not true that she was never buried, for she was buried, only, when Henry VII. built his chapel, she was taken up and laid in this *wooden* coffin, but I did there see that in it the body was buried in a *leaden* one, which remains under the body to this day." In the next century Dart records that the bones were "firmly united and thinly clothed with flesh like the scrapings of tanned leather," but about his time it had become a favourite amusement with the Westminster schoolboys to tear off pieces of the dried skin, and so the coffin was at last locked away out of sight. Gough,

writing in 1786, remembered seeing "some shapeless mass of the mummy of a whitish colour," but already Dean Thomas had placed it in the vault beneath the tomb of Sir George Villiers and his wife (parents of the Duke of Buckingham) in St. Nicholas Chapel. In 1877 Dean Stanley, with the consent of Queen Victoria, removed the bones of her ancestress to a more fitting resting-place.

In Archæologia (vol. xlvi. p. 287) the dean gives a minute description of the removal and of the state of the remains. Some of the bones were missing, probably carried off by the mischievous schoolboys. The old decayed chest was placed in a new coffin and interred on the site of the altar in the chantry chapel of Henry V. The ancient altar slab, which had been discovered shortly before, was used as a covering for the new tomb.

After this digression we must return to the fifteenth century and to the reign of Catherine's unfortunate first-born son. Some months after the resignation of Abbot Harweden in April, 1440, the monks elected a brother, who was well known outside the walls of the monastery, and had been a monk here since 1403. This was Edmund Kirton, a descendant of the ancient family of Cobledike, and, from the evidence of his coat of arms, probably belonging to the Suffolk branch of it. While a Westminster monk Kirton took his B.D.; at Oxford he became in 1423 Prior of the Benedictine scholars at Gloucester Hall, and in the eighteenth century MSS., presented by him to the library with his name prefixed, were shown to Dart at Worcester College, Oxford, but no trace of them now exists there. He won a high reputation for his oratory at Oxford, and once when he preached and made a speech on University business before the general chapter of the Benedictines at Northampton, his eloquence so pleased the brethren that they asked the authorities of the University to create him a D.D. In his epitaph he is said also to have preached twice with approbation before Pope Martin V. He certainly did not live much at Westminster before he was made abbot, for, besides his residence at Oxford, the University sent him to conduct some business for them at the Papal Court in 1437. Once abbot, however, his energies seem to have been

confined to the government of the convent, since we hear no more of him outside its walls.

It was during Kirton's abbacy that the prior, John Flete, wrote his chronicle of the monastery from legendary times up till 1386, the year of Litlington's death, and all subsequent historians have made use of his MSS., which are preserved in the Chapter library. The first part of this chronicle consists of extracts from charters, legends, etc., all recapitulated in order to establish various rights and privileges claimed by the monastery. The second part, containing an account of the abbots, is too barren of details, and chiefly describes the history of their benefactions or depredations, anniversaries and burial-places. His principal favourites amongst the abbots were Berkyng, for his indulgence and liberality to the monks, and Langham, for his liberality to the fabric. It is a remarkable fact that Flete says little or nothing about the building of the church under Henry III. and its progress up to his own time.

In the summer following Kirton's election he used his authority to refuse the right of sanctuary to a suppliant who fled here by night. This was Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, who was accused of witchcraft as well as of high treason, and for the first rather than the second crime was not allowed to take refuge in a place to which the guiltiest and most degraded criminal was permitted free access, notably, in the same year, a soldier who was guilty of murder.

On April 30th, 1445, Henry's Queen, Margaret of Anjou, was crowned in the Abbey, and tournaments were held for three days within the Sanctuary Green before the Abbey. To his eldest son, born on St. Edward's Day, Henry, in pious imitation of the example of Henry III., gave the name of the saint. But the life of this Prince was doomed to come to an untimely end in the pride of his youth and beauty after Tewkesbury field.

From the time of his marriage Henry was entirely governed by his strong-minded Queen. Through her influence, backed by that of her favourite, the Duke of Somerset, the continual disputes between the great nobles culminated in the first battle (St. Albans, May 22nd, 1455)

of those disastrous Wars of the Roses so long to devastate England with all the horrors of civil war. It was during these disastrous times that the thoughts of that pious and gentle king, to whom all bloodshed was particularly distasteful, turned to his own death and burial. In the Abbey, where his noble father lay, he would often spend hours of prayer and silent meditation at this time.

Henry's last public appearance here seems to have been when he knighted his half-brothers, Edwin and Jaspar Tudor, and held a solemn feast (1453). His other brother—Owen—fled hither for sanctuary during the civil wars, and, turning from bloodshed to piety, took the vows and died a monk of Westminster. He lies in the South Transept. The records of Henry's private visits to choose his grave in the Abbey have been preserved by a fortunate chance. For after the meek king had been so cruelly done to death a fit of remorse seems to have seized his subjects, and, as a reparation for his wrongs, they invested his remains with all the veneration due to the relics of a saint, till a halo of sanctity obscured his weaknesses, and only his virtues were remembered. Miracles were said to be worked over his grave at Windsor, whither Richard III. removed the body from its obscure resting-place at Chertsey in 1484, and so many statues of him were put up that a monition was issued by the Archbishop of York forbidding people to venerate his image. Thus, although never canonised, Henry VI. was long reverenced as a saint, and in 1498 three religious bodies—Chertsey Abbey, Windsor, and Westminster—had a lawsuit about the possession of his remains.

It is from the depositions of the witnesses called to prove Henry's own expressed desire to be buried at Westminster that we take the following interesting facts about the King's frequent visits to the Abbey. His first expedition thither was made between the feasts of All-hallows and Candlemas (February 2nd) in 1456, while the Civil War was at its height. He came between seven and eight in the evening, attended by the Bishop of Hereford and a few of his household, and was met at the Abbey door by Abbot Kirton and a single monk bearing a burning torch. After kneeling in prayer at the shrine

THE CHOIR, FROM THE WEST.

PHOTOGRAPH BY YORK & SON, NOTTING HILL, W.

HENRY VI. CHOOSES HIS PLACE OF BURIAL.
(*See p.* 107.)

the party went about the Royal Chapel seeking a convenient place for the king's own monument, but every space was filled. Someone suggested that Eleanor's tomb should be removed, but Henry would in no wise consent "to prejudice the body of the Queene," though his attendants represented that an equally convenient place might be found for her. Seeing that his mind was made up, a move was made to the Lady Chapel, where the King stood in contemplation before his mother's monument, which was close to the high altar. A suggestion was made that the bare tomb might be more honourably apparelled than at present, and moved a little lower down, leaving space between it and the altar for Henry himself. Again no reply could be extracted from the musing monarch, who silently departed from the Abbey without having arrived at any decision.

We get the date of another visit from a workman, who, with others whose depositions are extant, remembered Henry coming to the Abbey, attended by various nobles, about two o'clock in the afternoon, some time before the battle of Northampton (fought July 10th, 1460). Flete, the prior, received the King, who spent about an hour praying before the shrine, and afterwards went up into Henry V.'s Chapel. It was at this time that his meditations took definite shape. After speaking to Flete and the nobles of his desire to be buried near his father, he pointed with his staff to the spot where the relics then stood, near the tomb of Henry III., and said: "Forsooth, forsooth, here will we lye." The abbot had meantime been sent for, and on his arrival appears to have suggested the removal of Henry V.'s tomb more to the north in order to leave space for his son by his side. But the gentle king had at last firmly made up his mind, and after replying, "Nay, let hym alone, he lieth lyke a noble Prince; I wolle not troble him," he called Sir Richard Tunstall to him, and leaning on the trusted knight's shoulder, again turned to the abbot and repeated his proposal to pay out of his own purse for the removal of the relics. To this Kirton agreed, and the King then "with his owne feete mett (measured) out the lengith of vij foote befoore and nyghe the place wher the reliques

than stoode, and commanded a mason than beyng present, called Thurske . . . to mark oute the place where he shulde lie which Thurske at the said commandment markyed oute there the foresaid place withe an iron pykkes. Which done, the said Kyng Henry seid to such as then there were present these wordes: 'Forsoth and forsoth, here is a good place for us.'"

Another account says that after saying his prayers he had turned to Lord Cromwell, who stood near, and said, "Lend me yo^r staff," and had then asked him if it was not fitting that he should have a place to be buried "in here nyghe to Seint Edward, where my fader and alle my auncestors beth buryed," to which Lord Cromwell had briefly answered "Yea." The workmen all agreed that the relics were removed, according to the King's desire and at his cost, a few days later to the back side of the altar. But in the "great troubles" that followed, nothing further was done, and, as we have seen, the King's wishes were afterwards entirely disregarded. A reminiscence of the Wars of the Roses remains in the tomb (St. Edmund's Chapel) of Sir Humphrey Bourchier, who was killed at Barnet Field, fighting for Edward IV., the year, 1471, of Henry's mysterious death in the Tower. His son—Lord Berners, Chancellor to Henry VIII.—is remembered as the first translator of Froissart's Chronicles.

Edward IV. had been crowned in the Abbey five years before, and during the years of stormy conflicts which preceded his coronation old Abbot Kirton had resigned his post (1462). Kirton lived four years afterwards, during which time he prepared a tomb for himself in St. Andrew's Chapel, over which was an elaborate screen ornamented with "carved birds, flowers, and cherubim, and with the arms, devices, and mottoes of the nobility." The screen, which existed till the seventeenth century, was then, unfortunately, destroyed, and the tomb of the abbot levelled with the ground.

His successor—George Norwich—was only tolerated for two or three years, as he ran the house into debt and wasted the revenue. Finally, in 1466, he agreed to retire, handing over his office to three monks chosen by the

senior brethren—the new prior, Thomas Millyng (Flete, the chronicler, had resigned that post the year before); William Chertsey, and John Estency, who afterwards succeeded Millyng as prior and abbot. The deed by which Norwich was bound over to submit to various conditions is very curious. The abbot is accused of having affixed the convent seal to vast debts, and of having pledged a large amount of property. He now has to promise not to borrow or spend any more, nor to return to Westminster till the debts are cleared off unless summoned by the King to Parliament or to a Council. He is to live in some "venerable" Benedictine house, receiving an annual allowance of 100 marks, his debts being paid with the rest of the abbatial revenue. He may have a chaplain and some servants, but a condition is made that he is not to live at Pirford, which is too near London, and where he would have crowds of guests. Some disputes having taken place, as often occurred in monasteries, over the election of various officials, such as the cellarist, the sacrist, and the *custos novi operis*, a new arrangement is ordered to be made about the mode of their election in future.

Norwich died in 1469, and the Prior Millyng, who had hitherto been abbot in all but the title, was now formally elected to fill the vacancy, and during his brief rule of five years he saw the shortlived dynasty of Henry IV. overthrown, and a new family apparently firmly seated on the throne. Twenty-two years before, when quite a youth, he had become a Westminster monk, and had gone thence to Gloucester Hall, Oxford, "where," says Godwin, "he studied till he proceeded D.D., having in the meantime attained good knowledge in the Greek language." Greek was then a rare accomplishment, and Millyng was much thought of for his knowledge of that language, besides being popular as a preacher.

The Civil War was fiercely raging when he became abbot, and before a year had passed the new King had to fly abroad while his Yorkist Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, took sanctuary in the Abbey. She came secretly by water from the Tower (October 1st, 1470), and was kindly received into the abbot's house in spite of the

danger to Millyng should Henry VI. be restored. Here, "in great penurie, forsaken of all her friends, she was delivered (November 2nd, 1470) of a faire son, called Edward, which was, with small pomp like any poure man's child, christened, the godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the godmother Lady Scroope," the sub-prior officiating. Years afterwards the prior, John Esteney, when abbot, was destined once more to receive the poor Queen and her children into sanctuary. Three little daughters were with their mother, and the abbot every day supplied "half a loaf and two muttons" to the royal suppliants. To join them came many adherents of King Edward, and by their influence persuaded the city of London to open its gates to Edward when he returned next year to rescue his Queen with an armed force. He arrived on the 11th of April, and after the captive Henry VI. had been given over to him in the Tower, came straight to Westminster Abbey, and having "rendered his most heartie thanks to God for his safe return, he went to the Queene to comfort her, who with great patience had abided there a long time as a sancturie woman, for doubt of his enemies, and in the meane season was delivered of a young Prince, whom she now presented unto him to his great heart's rejoicing and comfort. From Westminster the King returned that night unto London againe, having the Queene with him, and lodged in the house of the Duchesse, his mother."

The Royal Family showed their gratitude to the foundation, which had sheltered them in various ways. Edward gave eighty oaks and about £250 to help in the building of the nave, which was resumed again. The Queen added £170, and later on the little Prince himself offered twenty marks a year. The Queen also founded a small chantry chapel, dedicated to St. Erasmus, in the Lady Chapel. When the old building was pulled down, this altar seems to have been removed to the ante-chapel leading into St. John the Baptist's, which is now called St. Erasmus's Chapel. The year after the Queen's deliverance another child—Margaret of York—was born; she died, aged eight months, on December 11th, 1472. The little tomb in which she was buried still exists, though

the effigy and inscription have been torn off, and the tomb itself shifted from its original position at the altar end of the shrine to a place near Richard II.

Edward IV. did not forget his obligations to the abbot, whom he made a Privy Councillor, and in August, 1474, Bishop of Hereford, to which see he was consecrated in the Lady Chapel. Millyng died in 1492 at Hereford, and his body was interred in St. John the Baptist's Chapel, called from the various abbots whose tombs are there the "Abbots' Chapel." Camden says that Millyng's body was not suffered to rest here in peace, but as the vaults were filled up by greater people his stone coffin was turned out, and may now be seen on Fascet's monument, recognisable by the Hereford badge—a cross-fleury.

Esteney, the prior who was senior to Millyng, took his place as Abbot of Westminster ; he was elected by Papal provision on the King's recommendation. Under his frugal administration the monastery was cleared of his predecessors' debts, amounting to £2,700, and he also paid out of his own purse a fine of £1,000, apparently for prisoners who had escaped from the monastic prison, probably debtors.

In Esteney's time the abbots were at last relieved from the necessity of travelling all the way to the Papal Court to get their election confirmed. They had been appealing to Rome for about fifty years in vain, but now Edward IV. agreed to help them, and wrote—or more probably the abbot wrote for him, as he, like most kings and nobles in those days, was quite illiterate—pressing Latin letters to the Pope (Sixtus IV.) and the cardinals, imploring them to relieve the abbots from this long and expensive journey. The letter to the Pope dated May, 1478, is exceedingly interesting, the Latin very forcible, and the state of the monastery finances and buildings is evidently much exaggerated in order to gain the desired exemption. The King begs the "apostolic see to deign" to assist the convent, which is on the verge of absolute ruin. He speaks of it as founded by his ancestors, consecrated by St. Peter, and ennobled by the tomb of the Confessor. "Our ancestors," he repeats, had partly constructed the buildings, and yet the fabric was already "wholly de-

stroyed by lapse of time, the greater part still unfinished." He dwells on the series of bad seasons which had destroyed the value of the farms, and above all, of the great expenses connected with the journey to Rome for confirmation. The conclusion of the letter might have been written by a modern dean, and does credit to the feelings of both King and abbot. "Anything done for the benefit of the monastery which stands placed before the eyes of the English people would be welcome to all of English race." The royal request, backed by large bribes, was granted; and in August, 1478, the abbots were finally released from their toilsome journey to Rome, and thenceforth allowed to have their election confirmed by an English bishop. The sum of one hundred florins to be paid yearly to the Pope was a drop in the ocean compared to the enormous expenses hitherto incurred by each new abbot.

Dudley, the first dean of Edward's new chapel at Windsor, and Bishop of Durham, was buried in the Abbey (1483). It was his nephew who, as Henry VII.'s Minister, earned the opprobrious title of "blood-sucking Dudley." Anne Mowbray, daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Norfolk of that name, betrothed to the little Prince Richard of York in 1477, when he was only five, lies in a nameless grave in the Islip Chapel.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ROYAL SUPPLIANTS FOR SANCTUARY, AND THE USURPER'S CORONATION.

EDWARD IV. himself was not fated to lie amongst the kings at Westminster. He was buried in his own new chapel at Windsor close to his victim, Henry VI. Edward died, prematurely aged by his own excesses, at the comparatively early age of forty-two, on the 9th of April, 1483. On the 17th his body was taken to the Abbey in great state ; a rich black cloth of gold, with a cross of white cloth of gold, covered the coffin ; above it a canopy of cloth fringed with gold and blue silk, was borne by four knights, and at every corner was a banner borne by a knight ; the Lord Howard carried the King's banner in front of the bier. Amongst the attendant lords were Hastings—so soon to be beheaded—and Lord Stanley, the husband of Henry VII.'s mother, Margaret, who saved his head by joining Richard III., and afterwards at Bosworth Field left the dead body of Richard III. to crown his stepson, Henry VII. On the following day a funeral service was celebrated by the Archbishop of York, assisted most probably by the Abbot of Westminster, and the body, which had first been exposed to the populace on a board half naked to show—so troubled were the times—that the King had not been murdered, was taken in a chariot to Windsor.

The widowed Elizabeth, alarmed by her brother-in-law, the Duke of Gloucester's threatening attitude to her family, fled again, with five daughters and her second son Richard, to sanctuary. They crossed over from Westminster Palace into the abbot's "place" about midnight, and were kindly received by Esteney. The chroniclers give graphic accounts of the scene of confusion attending the fugitives' arrival that spring night,

how all about the Queen there was "mumble, haste, and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary ; chests, coffers, packers, fardels trussed all on men's backs ; no man unoccupied, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the nect (nearest) way." Elizabeth retired into the actual fortress of the sanctuary, where, before morning, she received a visit from Rotherham, the Archbishop of York. "There the Queen was," says Sir Thomas More in his "History of Edward V.," "seated alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismaied, whom the Archbishop comforted in best manner he could, shewing her that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she took it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by a message sent him by the Lord Chamberlain, Hastings. 'Ah! wo, woorth him (quoth she), for he is one of them that laboreth to destroie me and my blood.' 'Madame (quoth he), be ye of good cheere, for I assure you if they crowne anie other King than your sonne, whome they now have with them, we shall on the morrow crowne his brother, whome you have here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that Noble Prince, your husband, delivered it unto me, so here I deliver it unto you to the use and behoofe of your sonne.' And therewith he betooke her the greate seale, and departed home again (to his palace in Whitehall), yet in the dawning of the day. By which time he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the Duke of Gloucester's servants watching that no man should go to sanctuarie nor none could pass unsearched."

At the Council meeting held early in May, directly after the Duke of Gloucester arrived with young Edward V. from the North, Archbishop Rotherham appeared with the great seal, having repented of his first hasty impulse and "secretly sent for it again, fearing that it would be ascribed to his overmuch lightnesse that he so suddenlie had yeelded up the great seale to the Queene, to whom the custodie thereof nothing pertained." He was severely reprimanded and obliged to give it up to the Bishop of Lincoln, while the Duke of Gloucester

EDWARD IV.'S WIDOW IN SANCTUARY.
(*See p.* 114.)

ROTHERHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, WATCHING GLOUCESTER'S SERVANTS GUARDING WESTMINSTER

(*See p.* 114.)

received the title of Protector of the Realm. At the next meeting (June 16th) Richard decided to take his nephew and namesake by force out of the sanctuary, should Elizabeth remain firm in her refusal to give him up. He had an example in his father, who, when Protector in 1456, had violently abducted the Duke of Exeter from sanctuary and beheaded him at Pontefract afterwards. The Archbishop of Canterbury, braver than his brother of York, dared to withstand Richard's proposal, and spoke up boldly in defence of the rights of sanctuary. "For," said he, "it would be a thing that would turn to the great grudge of all men and high displeasure of God if the privilege of that holy place should be broken, which had so many years been kept. Which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more than five hundred years ago (by St. Peter in his own person in spirit, accompanied by great multitudes of angels by night) so specially hallowed and dedicated to God (for the proof whereof they have yet in the Abbey St. Peter's cope to show), that from that time hitherward was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate. And, therefore (quoth the Archbishop), God forbid that any man should for anything earthly enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of the sacred sanctuary that hath been the safeguard of so many a good man's life."

The Primate's eloquent speech did not, however, shake the set purpose of the Protector, who felt his power over the kingdom depended on his having both nephews in his hands. Leaving the Council in the Star Chamber, the Archbishop went at length unwillingly on his errand. He found the Queen firm in her resolution not to let her younger son go from her, and spent much breath in vain argument. At length he told her that her resistance was unavailing, as the lords had decided to use force. Then the Queen broke out into fierce denunciation of her brother-in-law, and the specious excuses he had made for the proposed sacrilege in the plea that young Richard had done no evil, therefore the privileges of sanctuary were not for him. "In what place could I

reckon him sure if he be not sure in this sanctùarie," cried the distracted mother, "whereof was there never tyrant yet so divilish that durst presume to breake, and I trust God is as strong now to withstand his adversaries as ever he was . . . In this place in which we now be . . . mine other sonne, now King, was borne and kept in his cradle and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And, as all of you know, this is not the first time I have taken sanctuarie ; for when my lord, my husband, was banished and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hither, being great with child, and heere I bare the Prince. . . And I pray God that my son's palace may be as great safeguard unto him now reigning as this place was sometime to the King's enemie. I can no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuarie, I praie God shortlie send him need of sanctuarie when he may not come to it. For taken out of sanctuarie would I not my mortall enemie were." After musing for a while the Queen decided to let her boy go, kissing him with many forebodings, "for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe." Then, turning aside, she wept bitterly, while Richard, weeping too, poor child, was led away, never again to see his mother's face. Soon after he and Edward, who were lodged at the Bishop of London's Palace, were taken to the Tower, out of which "after that date they never came abroad." A mystery must ever rest upon their fate. Shakespeare has pictured for us common report, and long afterwards some bones found beneath the stair in the Tower which led to the rooms they were kept in, were brought to the Abbey and placed by the care of Charles II. in an urn in the chapel of Henry VII. There seems little doubt that they were made away with by Richard's orders some time in August, 1483.

Meantime the Queen and her daughters stayed on in sanctuary, where they seem to have rented lodgings from Abbot Esteney, and lived as it were in a fortress, for the precincts were strictly guarded by soldiers, and none suffered to go in or out without special permission, lest the Princesses should escape abroad.

At length, ten months after her sons' death, Elizabeth was persuaded to leave her refuge, and she and her daughters were courteously conveyed to the palace and well treated thenceforth. Her son-in-law—Henry VII. —who nearly lost his bride by her mother's concessions to Richard, afterwards punished the poor lady, already so severely tried, by depriving her of her lands and shutting her up in the Bermondsey Nunnery.

All had been prepared for the boy King's coronation —even the wild fowl were ordered for the banquet, and the dresses for the guests. The day, after having been twice postponed, was actually fixed for the 22nd of June. But his loving uncle, Richard, had other plans for him and his brother, and the first step he took was to have the boys proclaimed illegitimate on untenable grounds in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross. He then prompted a deputation of citizens to offer the crown to himself, on the 25th of June, which he at once accepted, and the following day he rode in state with six thousand gentlemen from Barnard's Castle to Westminster Hall, where he sat in the seat royal and summoned the judges before him. After that he departed "toward the Abbaye, and at the churche doore he was met with procession, and by the abbot to hym was delyvered the sceptre of Sant Edwardes shryne, whyle the monks sange Te Deum with a faynt courage, and from the church he retourned to the palayce, where he lodged tyll the coronacion."

The coronation of Richard and his wife—Ann Neville, daughter of Warwick the King-maker—was celebrated on July 6, 1483, with ostentatious pomp, and the following elaborate account of the great doings is taken from two authorities—the "Excerpta Historica," in which an MS. description is printed, and "Grafton's Chronicle."

"On the morrow, being the sixt day of July, the King, with Queen Anne, his wife, came downe out of the White Hall into the Great Hall at Westminster and went directly to the King's Bench. And from thence the King and the Queene, goyng upon raye (striped) cloth bare-footed, went unto Saint Edward's shrine, and all his nobilitie goyng with him, euery lorde in his degree. And first went the trompets and then the heraultes of

Armes in their rich cotes, and next followed the crosse with a solempne procession, the priests hauing fine surplesses and gray anmyses upon them. The abbottes and byshops, mytred and in riche copes, and euery (one) of them caryed their crosiers in their hands. The Byshop of Rochester bare the cross before the cardinall. Then folowed the Erle of Huntingdon bearyng a payre of gilt spurres, signifying knighthood. Then folowed the Erle of Bedford bearyng Saint Edwarde's staffe for a relique. After them came the Erle of Northumberland, bare hedded, with the poyntlesse sworde naked in his hand, which sygnified mercy. The Lorde Stanley bare the mace of the Constableship. The Erle of Kent bare the second sworde on the right hande of the King naked with a poynt, which sygnified justice to the temporaltie. The Lorde Louell bare the thirde sworde on the left hande, with a poynt, which sygnified justice to the clergie. The Duke of Suffolk folowed with the sceptre in his hand, which sygnified peace. The Erle of Lincoln bare the ball and crosse, which sygnified a monarchy. The Erle of Surrey bare the fourth sword before the King in a riche skaberd, and that is called the sword of estate. Then went three together, in the middest went Garter, King at Armes, in his riche cote. And on his left hande went the Maior of London, bearing a mace, and on his right hand went the Gentleman Usher of the Privie Chamber. Then folowed the Duke of Norfolk bearing the King's crowne betwene his handes. Then folowed King Richard in his robes of purple velvet, and ouer his head a canopie borne by foure barons of the fiue portes, and on euery side of the King there went one byshop, that is to say, the Byshop of Bath and the Byshop of Durham. Then folowed the Duke of Buckyngham bearing the King's trayne, with a whyte staffe in his hande, signifyng the office of the High Steward of England. Then there folowed a great number of erles and barons before the Queene. And then came the Erle of Huntingdon, who bare the Queenes scepter, and the Lord Lisle Viscount bare the rod with the doffe, which sygnifieth innocence. The Erle of Wiltshire bare the Queenes crowne before her. Then folowed Queen Anne, daughter to Richard, Erle of War-

wike, in robes lyke to the King's, having a canopy ouer her head, and on euery corner of the same was a bell of golde. And on her head was a circlet of golde set with many precious stones. The Countesse of Richmonde bare the Queenes trayne. And after them came the Duchesse of Suffolke in her robes of estate, and on her head a cronicle of golde." Then followed other ladies and attendants, "and shortlie the King and the Queene sat downe in their seats of estate. And forthwith there came up before the King and the Queene both priests and clarkes that song most delectable and excellent musick. And so soone as thys was done the King and Queene were shifted from their robes and had dyuers places open from the middle upwarde, in which places they were annoynted. And that being done, the King and Queene changed their robes into cloth of golde. And then forthwith the cardinall, being accompanied with all the byshops, crouned the King and Queene with great solempnity with the crowne of Saint Edward, and then they sang Te Deum and the organs went, and then they put upon the King Saint Edwardes cope (as an holy relique). And the byshops delivered to the King the scepter in his ryght hande, and the ball with the crosse in his left hande, and to the Queene the scepter in her righte hande, and the rod with the doffe in her left hande. And then the cardinall and byshops went to masse, and the King and Queene went to their seates agayne. And shortly after came up before the King two byshops and kneeled downe before him a little whyle, and then they arose up and kissed the King one after another; on euery side of the King stood a duke, and on euery side of the Queene stood a byshop. And before the King stood the Erle of Surrey with a sword in his hande, and before the Queene was a lady kneeling. And there kneeled before the Queenes seat the Duches of Norfolke and sundrie other ladies. And so they sate still untill the Paxe was geuen, and then the King and Queen discended and came downe to the highe aulter, and there received the sacrament, the same being deuided betweene them. And then they went up unto S. Edward's shryne and there the King offered Saint Edwardes crowne with many

other reliques. And then the King returned to his seat, and the lordes set his awne crowne upon his head. And so in order as they came they departed to Westminster Hall. . . ."

During the two years of Richard's reign there is little or nothing beyond his coronation to mark any special feeling for the Abbey. He allowed the burial there in the first year of his reign of one whose execution he had himself ordered—Sir Thomas Vaughan, who had been private treasurer to Edward IV., and had received from him the nominal post of Chamberlain to Edward V. Vaughan was the first layman who found a place in the Abbots' Chapel. His tomb, originally in the centre, was probably moved to its present position about 1608 to make way for the huge Cecil monument. Upon it may still be seen his brass effigy in plate armour, his hands joined in prayer. In an unrecorded grave beneath the pavement of the South Ambulatory lies Richard's neglected wife—Ann Neville. There is no doubt that her husband heartily desired her death, for he had set his heart on marrying his own niece—Elizabeth ; but there is no reason to credit the popular rumour which ascribed her end to his machinations. The poor lady had been ailing ever since her only son's death, and passed quietly away on the 16th of March, 1485—a day marked out as one of ill omen to the common people by an eclipse of the sun. It was not long before these prognostications were verified, as it seemed, by the disastrous turn in Richard's fortunes and his defeat and death on Bosworth Field.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST TUDOR KING AND HIS NEW CHAPEL.

Esteney was once again, for the second time, to assist at a coronation—one in which he must have rejoiced, for the first Tudor king, whose uncle was actually a monk here at the time, seemed as it were to belong to the Abbey, and was afterwards to make a new bond between his family and the monastery by his beautiful chapel. But this coronation—so full of import for the country—was marked by little comparative splendour. The circlet of gold placed by Lord Stanley on his stepson's head at Bosworth was, perhaps Henry felt, the true inauguration of his reign, or else that his title was scarcely secure enough to warrant a blare of trumpets. All the magnificence was postponed for the coronation of his bride—Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., whom Richard would no doubt have married had he lived. This marriage, long schemed and prepared for by Henry's mother—Lady Margaret—consolidated Henry's title by the union of his claims to those of the house of York. Elizabeth had lived in sanctuary with her mother on two occasions, so Westminster must have been a familiar place to her. Her marriage was celebrated in the Abbey on the 18th of January, 1486, "with greater triumph and demonstrations," says Lord Bacon, "especially on the people's part, than the days either of his entry or coronation, which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true that . . . he showed himself no very indulgent husband toward her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful."

No pains, however, were spared to make Elizabeth's coronation, in November, 1487, a splendid pageant. A grand procession of all the civic authorities in barges—one with a red dragon spouting fire to illustrate the

claimed descent of the Tudors from Arthur Pendragon —attended her from Greenwich to the Tower, where the King received her. The next day she was borne in a litter to Westminster Abbey, with all her yellow hair hanging down her back, for the grand ceremony. Lady Margaret, who had been compelled to bear the train of the last Queen, Ann Neville, at her coronation, now attended her daughter-in-law, and was included in the honours paid to the young Queen. Many were the benefactions showered by Henry and his pious mother upon the monastery, the last prosperous reign for the house, whose fortunes were to fall into such black eclipse under Henry's own son.

Early in his reign Henry built an almshouse north of the Almonry,* close to the west end of the Abbey, near the Gate House, and endowed it with provision for thirteen almsmen, whose successors may be still seen with their blue gowns at the Abbey services ; the almshouse itself was pulled down long ago, and the pensioners no longer live in the precincts. In connection with this it is interesting to note the following facts about the famous Caxton, who was at this time hard at work producing the first printed books in England. Stowe tells us that "neare unto this house (Henry's almshouse) westward was an old chappell of St. Anne, over against the which the Lady Margaret, mother to King Henry VII., created an almeshouse for poore women. . . The place wherein this chappell and almeshouse standeth was called the Elemosinary, or Almonry, now coruptly the Ambry, for the almes of the Abbey were there distributed to the poore." The chronicler goes on to relate how Abbot Islip here established Caxton (about 1471) and his press, the fact being that Islip was then only a monk, and that Caxton merely rented a house near the Almonry and within the Abbey precincts, called "the Reed pale," *i.e.*, pale gules, the sign of Caxton's shop ; here, under the shadow of the great church, Caxton carried on his printing till his death, about 1491. In the prologue to one of his books, the "Eneyds," as

* The Almonry was to the south-west of Broad Sanctuary, divided into two parts—the Great and Little Almonry.

Mr. Blades has pointed out in his biography of Caxton, is his only reference to the abbot in all he sent out from his press, though many have "in the Abbaye of Westminster" printed on the title page. Probably Caxton had no personal dealings with the lord abbot beyond perhaps occasional loans of MSS. sent by some official, possibly by the Prior Islip himself, which would account for the traditions connecting their names. Amongst the fragments of papers found in rat holes in the Triforium, and now in the Chapter House, from mediæval copy-books down to documents of the time of Queen Anne, are scraps of Caxton's printed pages.

The building progressed very fast under Esteney, who "seems to have been much set on the work, for he kept it always in his own direction, which before his time had been committed to the care of some one of the monks." The vaultings of the nave were finished during his time, and the great west window set up. The expenses were defrayed by the rents of the estates and contributions from the monks, and the £600 Esteney spent over what he received was made up by the next abbot from the same sources.

Esteney died at an advanced age in 1498, and was buried in St. John the Evangelist's Chapel. His tomb and Sir John Harpedon's, raised about four feet above the floor, with their canopies, once formed the screen between the chapel and ambulatory, but were both moved and mutilated to make room for Wolfe's monument in the eighteenth century. An iron railing then enclosed Esteney's tomb, and through the arch of the canopy St. John's altar could be seen. Now the remains of the tomb, with the brass effigy—probably a portrait—of the abbot will be found in the North Ambulatory. His tomb was twice opened in the eighteenth century, and Dart had a description of the body from "that good-natur'd communicative gentleman, Mr. Batley, late register of this church." The abbot was found "lying in a chest quilted with yellow satten; he had on a gown of crimson silk girded to him with a black girdle. On his legs were white silk stockings, and over his face, which was black, a clean napkin doubled up and laid corner-

wise; the legs and other parts of the body firm and plump."

Esteney's successor—Fascet—only lived two years, but he had been a monk here since 1474, and was prior for five years, so on his death, in 1500, he was given an altar tomb in St. John the Baptist's Chapel, upon which, as we have seen, Millyng's stone coffin was afterwards placed. During his rule came the lawsuit, to which reference has been made before, as to the claim of Westminster to possess the body of Henry VI. The reasons alleged by the monks on behalf of their case are interesting to us now, for besides the obvious one of the late King's own wishes, the following additional ones were pleaded: Because "their monastery from its sanctity was and is the place of sepulture of the kings and ancestors of the said Henry VI., and as such it is reckoned by name and reputation publicly and notoriously," and "by reason of parochial right, asserting that he, while he lived, was a parishioner of the aforesaid monastery. And this because there was kept up in the aforesaid Westminster the principal residence and the building called the Palace of the King, and his principal domicile, and in that place were the coronations and anointing of kings, also parliaments and councils for the public welfare were most frequently held there."

The future abbot—Islip, who was then prior—conducted the case for Fascet, and appeared before the Council, which met three times to consider the respective claims of Windsor, Chertsey, and Westminster. Finally, on March 5th, 1498, Henry VII. himself being present, came their decision, which was in favour of Westminster. The permission of Pope Julius II. had then to be obtained (the Bull is dated 1504) for the removal of the body. The idea of canonisation was abandoned on account of the enormous sum demanded by the Papal Court. A great deal had already been spent by the convent on the expenses of the trial, and now, in July, 1498, we find Henry borrowing £500 from them for the cost of the proposed removal, and mention is here first made of the new chapel and of the King's intention to be buried there himself, "not far from his said uncle." From an entry in the

accounts of Islip, concerning this loan, an idea arose that the King's body actually was transported to Westminster. This, however, is evidently a mistake, for Henry, in his last will, still speaks of the project merely as a proposal to be executed "right shortly," and he left directions for a more princely monument to be erected at Windsor, for which drawings were made but never carried out. The original tomb, made by Richard III., at Windsor, was destroyed by the Puritans, and it was not until the days of George III. that the supposed place of the grave was marked by an inscribed slab. It is interesting to note in the indenture drawn up between the King and Abbot Fascet about this loan of £500, that already (1498) Henry VII. contemplated his new chapel, to be ostensibly raised in honour of Henry VI., but also "in the same not ferre from his said uncle to be buryed himselfe."

To the next abbot—John Islip, the "great builder," as he was called—belongs the honour of superintending the construction of the famous "Orbis miraculum," or wonder of the world, as Leland called Henry VII.'s Chapel. Islip, who had been a monk here since 1480, and had held various offices, such as sacrist and prior, perhaps belonged to the family of the great Archbishop, Simon Islip. He was unanimously elected (October 27th, 1500) abbot on Fascet's death. The first years of his time were absorbed in preparations for the new building, and before it could be begun the old Lady Chapel, which had now stood nearly two hundred and eighty years, and contained, as we have seen, the tomb of the King's grandmother, was pulled down. Besides the Lady Chapel and the chantry chapel built by Elizabeth Woodville, the old houses standing close against the east end of the Abbey were cleared away, amongst them a much-frequented tavern called the White Rose, and the "tenement in a garden," in which the poet Chaucer had spent the last year of his life exactly a century before. Like Henry III., the present King undertook to erect his new building at his own cost, and, unlike that Henry, whose resources failed before the stupendous work he had undertaken was complete, this Henry was able richly to endow his new chapel. He had already

obtained the Pope's leave to suppress two religious houses, intending at the time to use the money for a chapel dedicated to Henry VI. at Windsor, and now his plans were changed he was able to commence the work at Westminster with the funds thus obtained. At last, after about four years spent in demolishing the old chapel, which, it seems, "neither wanted re-building nor repairing," and getting the stone for the new one from Huddlestone Quarry, in Yorkshire, from Kent, Reigate, and Caen, all was prepared, and the chapel actually begun. Holinshed in his account of the laying of the foundation-stone says: "In this eighteenth year, the twentie-fourth daie of Januarie, a quarter of an hour afore three of the clocke, at after noone of the same daie, the first stone of our Ladie Chapell within the monasterie of Westminster was laid by the hands of John Islip, abbat of the same monasterie, Sir Reginald Bray, Knight of the Garter, Doctor Barnes, Maister of the Rolles, Doctor Wall, Chapleine to the King's Majestie, Maister Hugh Oldham, Chapleine to the Countesse of Darbie and Richmond, the King's mother, Sir Edmund Stanhope, Knight, and diverse others. Upon the same stone was this scripture ingraven: 'Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Angliæ et Franciæ et dominus Hiberniæ, posuit hanc petram in honore beatæ Virginis Mariæ, 24 die Januarii, anno domini 1502-3, et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi decimo octavo.' The charges whereof amounted (as some report upon credible information as they say) to foureteene thousand pounds."

It is strange that the King himself and his mother are not named as present on this auspicious occasion, and strange also that it is impossible to find out with any certainty the architect who designed the plans, since no drawing or agreements are extant. The credit is usually given to Sir Reginald Bray, the architect of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, and master of the King's works, and the name of another builder, Alcock, Bishop of Ely, surveyor of the works, has been associated with his. But, although both may have prepared a design when the chapel was first talked about, and Bray may have elaborated and completed the plans after Alcock's

CORONATION PROCESSION OF RICHARD III

(*See p.* 117.)

ABBOT ISLIP LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE LADY CHAPEL.
(*See p.* 126.)

death in 1500, yet neither of these men could have actually superintended the building. Since Bray died a few months after the stone was laid, the actual master of the works at Westminster during most of the building was the prior of St. Bartholomew's —the William Bolton mentioned in Henry's will, himself a great architect, who has left his mark on St. Bartholomew's Church. To him (the King left injunctions in his will) were to be delivered the "Plat made for the chapel . . . . signed with our hande," as also the designs for the decorations, all of which have unfortunately long disappeared. Speed attributes the architectural plan to Henry himself, which "forms of more curious and exquisite buildings he and Bishoppe Foxe first (as is reported) learned in France, and thence brought with them into England." But he has no evidence beyond common report. Four of the indentures (dated 16th July, 1503) for the endowment of the chapel, written on vellum, and bound in purple velvet with the royal arms on the outside, five large seals with the portcullis badge attached to the book, are preserved in the British Museum, and a duplicate copy, which probably belonged to the Abbot, is in the Chapter House. Each indenture has an elaborate initial letter. Within the first the King, seated on his throne, gives this book to the abbot, whose face is evidently a portrait; monks, bedesmen, and lawyers are depicted in the three others. The contents of the book refer to the foundation; the *Livelood, i.e.* the estates granted for the support of the chapel, besides £5,150 for the purchase of manors; the "Great Indulgence and Pardon of pleyn remission oons in the yere perpetually," granted by the Pope to all who prayed here; the proposed removal of the "holy body" of Henry VI.; the maintenance of the thirteen bedesmen; and the various anniversaries founded for the King and his family. Besides these, the rights of sanctuary are confirmed, and the privileges of the deanery of St. Martin-le-Grand.

In the few months which elapsed between the laying of the stone and the presentation of this book to the abbot, Henry's Queen, the "fair rose of York," had passed away. She died in the Tower on the 11th of

February, 1503, after giving birth to a daughter, who survived her mother only "a short season," and was buried with her. Although Henry had not shown himself a very indulgent husband, he spared no expense over her magnificent funeral, which was conducted with much ostentatious mourning. Her body was embalmed, and brought through the streets in a gorgeous hearse; "her effigy in robes, with the hair dishevelled, laid upon it, having a crown on her head, a scepter in her hand, and rings on her fingers, was removed to Westminster with great funeral pomp, being drawn by six horses adorned with white banners of Our Lady, in token of her dying in childbed, and followed by eight ladies-of-honour on white horses, richly caparisoned, attended by a grand procession of the Religious, and followed by the mayor and commonality of London amidst an innumerable quantity of torches that everywhere illuminated the streets as they passed, and made a most glorious appearance."

From the Lord Chamberlain's books one gets some amusing details about Elizabeth's effigy. The "dishevelled hair" was hired at the cost of tenpence: this was, perhaps, the custom, and may account for the bald condition of the figures in the "ragged regiment," amongst which is supposed to be that of this Elizabeth. Mr. Lawrence and "Frederik," his mate, got thirteen shillings and fourpence for "hewing of the hedde," which was presumably a likeness, while two other wood-carvers were paid three shillings for the hands. The "payre of hosen" were provided at the charge of tenpence, which represents about four shillings of our money, for stockings were luxuries in those days; the slippers were two shillings and fourpence. Master Henry received fourpence for painting the image, and two shillings and fourpence was paid for making the garments. The whole cost, including the wood, amounted to about twenty shillings—about £4 or £5. The body was temporarily laid somewhere in the church, and removed shortly before the King's death to the vault prepared for both in the centre of the new chapel.

Before this two of the royal children had been buried here. One, an infant, bearing the historic name of

HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.

PHOTOGRAPH BY CASSELL & CO., LTD.

Tomb of Henry VII

Edward (d. 1499), lies in an unmarked grave; the other, a child of three (d. 1495), called Elizabeth of York after her mother, has a little tomb at the feet of Henry III., whence her gilt effigy and the inscription have long been stripped. This Princess died at the early age of three years and two months, but was given a pompous funeral. Her body was brought from Eltham Palace, where she died, to the Abbey in a black chariot, drawn by six horses, and met at the west door by Islip, then prior, and carried with great ceremony to her grave.

In 1508 Henry's Lord Chamberlain, Giles, Lord Daubeney, died and was buried in St. Paul's Chapel. He was raised to the peerage in 1486 as a reward for his services to the King before his accession, and was his "true servant" for twenty-six years. The base of the beautiful Purbeck marble tomb was restored in 1889 by his descendants, and again enclosed by an iron grille. The alabaster effigies of Daubeney and his wife, Lady Elizabeth, who survived him, were left in their original condition.

The little figures of sleeping friars on the soles of the feet are supposed to be satirical, the friars being then in ill-repute.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TOMBS OF HENRY VII. AND HIS MOTHER.

Each successive royal builder was destined to die before he could see the full result of the years and labour expended on his scheme. Henry VII. died at Richmond on the 21st of April, 1509, when the chapel was only completed as far as the vaulting. His anxiety to spare neither money nor trouble in the completion of the new chapel, and his expressions of attachment to the monastery, are pathetic, when the ruin so soon to be wrought at Westminster by his son is remembered. Only nine days before his death he gave £5,000 "in redy money" into the hands of the abbot, and his executors were commanded to advance as much more again if necessary. Besides this, he bequeathed 500 marks towards the completion of the nave. In his will are minute and careful directions as to the chapel and his own tomb, the place of which was to be in the midst before the high altar, "as is ordered in the Plat made for the same, and signed with our hande." The tomb was to be of touchstone, upon it figures in copper gilt of himself and of his queen, the removal of whose body to the vault below is ordered to take place immediately after his own death. Round it was to be a grate "of coper and gilte, after the faction that we have begonne," which shows that the grille must have been commenced before the tomb; within an altar was to stand, to which Henry bequeathed "our grete peece of the holie crosse," and also "oon of the leggs of Saincte George." Bequests are also made to the high altar and to all the altars in the aisles and side chapels, the places of which are now covered by monuments; one is specially named as dedicated to Henry VI. The King also bequeaths "the grettest image of our lady that we now have in our juelhouse, and a crosse

of plate of gold upon tymber to the value of c^{li}." The high altar was completed by Torrigiano in 1522, but it was unfortunately broken up in the civil wars, and the brittle terra-cotta image of the dead Christ was destroyed. The marble baldachino, which was unearthed from the vault below by Dean Stanley, and two of the pilasters, then preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and presented to the Dean by the University, form part of the present modern altar.

In his will Henry specially desires that "dampnable pompe and oteragious superfluities" be avoided in his funeral,* but as a matter of fact the gorgeousness of the ceremony vied with other royal burials. The body lay in state for nine days, during which masses were sung at Richmond Palace, and on the 9th of May it was carried on a funeral "chaire" to London. The procession was met at St. George's Fields by the mayor and aldermen, and the Commons and representatives of the different religious bodies then in London, who escorted it to St. Paul's, where the Bishop of London received them. Upon the chariot which carried the coffin lay also "a picture resembling his person, crowned and richly appareled in his parliament robe, bearing in his ryght hand a sceptre, and in his left hand a ball of golde, over whome there was hanginge a riche cloth of gold pitched upon four staves, which were sett at the foure corners of the saide charett, which charett was drawen with seaven great coursers, trapped in black velvett with the armes of England. . . ." The "picture," *i.e.* the effigy, on account of its weight, had to be carried into the Cathedral by twelve "persons of the garde."

After mass on the following day the procession was re-formed and proceeded to Westminster Abbey. At Charing Cross it was met by "the Abbots of Westminster, St. Alban's, Reading, and Winchcomb *in pontificalibus,* and the whole convent of Westminster in albs and copes," who preceded the funeral car to the west door of the Abbey, where the two Archbishops received and censed the corpse. Within the church, in Henry's

* A full account of the funeral is in the Harleian MSS., No. 3,504, and copied in Brayley and Neale's History of the Abbey.

new chapel, a richly-decked hearse, with burning tapers and waving banners, awaited the coffin, which was borne to it by six peers. The effigy, first placed upon the hearse, was taken the next day into St. Edward's Chapel, where multitudes were afterwards allowed to come and gaze upon it. The body was watched during the night of the 10th by certain knights, and lowered in "a coffin of bordes" covered with black velvet, into the vault prepared for it on the morrow, three masses being sung. Then all the archbishops, bishops, and abbots laid their crosses upon the coffin "in the most solempn manner, sayinge this collect *Absolvimus,* which done, the said archebisshopp did cast earth upon the said corps, and then my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Steward did brake their staves and did cast them into the vaught, and the other hed officers did cast their staves in all whole, which done, the vaught was closed, and a goodlie riche pall of gold laide upon the said herse. And incontinent all the herauds did (cast) of (f) theire cote-arms (coats of arms) and did hange them upon the rayles of the herse, crying lamentably in ffrenche: Le noble roi Henri le Septième est mort . . . and assoone as they had so done, everie heraud putt on his cote-armo' againe, and cryed with a loud voice: Vive le noble roy Henry le Huitesme, Roy d'Angleterre et de France, sire d'Irland!" The funeral sermon, preached at St. Paul's by Bishop Fisher, was afterwards published at the request of Henry's mother, and contains a eulogy of the departed monarch and many details about his behaviour in his last illness.

Hitherto all our kings had been buried above ground, and it is interesting to note that Henry VII. and his wife, Elizabeth, were the first laid below the pavement. According to an MS. (Harl. MSS. 297) copied by Brayley, the original design for Henry's monument was disliked by Henry VIII. and altered; the grille, which is ascribed to Esterfield, had been already begun. This alteration would account for the long delay before Torrigiano actually set to work on the tomb. This celebrated Italian artist, who had made Florence too hot to hold him by his ungovernable temper, and had broken Michael

Angelo's nose, was residing in the Abbey precincts, when in 1512 (22nd October) he signed an agreement to make "a tombe or sepulture" for King Henry VII. and his Queen for £1,500. That it was completed by 1518 is shown by another agreement dated February 5th, 1518-19, undertaking a similar monument for Henry VIII. It was certainly no wonder that the latter monarch desired to lie beneath a monument made by Torrigiano's skill, for the two specimens we have in the Abbey surpass all other tombs of the same date in England. That of Henry VII. is made of copper gilt and black and white marble; the effigies are recumbent with hands joined in prayer, the features modelled on likenesses of the King and Queen. Around the base are six medallions, each containing two patron saints, including the great founder, Edward the Confessor. Every vacant space is filled by beautiful Renaissance patterns, or by one of Henry's numerous badges, which are also repeated on the brass gates of the chapel and on the vaulting. The dragon of the Tudors, the greyhound of the Nevilles, the portcullis of the Beauforts, the root of daisies, the rose on the bush, or the rose of York and Lancaster by itself, are the most conspicuous, while the fleurs-de-lys testify to the constant and inherited claim to the crown of France.

The root of daisies belongs to one to whom the Abbey owed much—the venerable Lady Margaret. Time would fail to record all the chances and changes of her eventful life. The granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and related to thirty royalties, Margaret married, in her extreme youth, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of the French Queen, Catherine, by her second marriage with Owen Tudor. Left a young widow with an only son, afterwards Henry VII., Margaret was obliged, in those tumultuous days, to find a new protector. Her second husband was Sir Humphrey Stafford; her third, Thomas, Lord Stanley, the same who afterwards crowned Henry VII. on the field of Bosworth. All Margaret's tastes were towards a conventual life, but her love for her son was too great to allow of her entirely retiring from the world. She ultimately separated from her third husband, preferring to end her days as a nun, though not

actually in a convent. She was a patroness of Caxton, who printed one or two books for her; and she built an almshouse for poor women close to the place where he worked, near the almonry, which was afterwards turned into lodgings for the singing men, and has long been pulled down. A record of her charity still exists in the dole of bread and meat, now called the Dean's Gift, given weekly in the College Hall, which was originally called by her name, and was a legacy bequeathed by her for the purpose. She would have loaded the monastery with costlier gifts, but Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, her confessor, fearful, it seems, of stormy days in prospect for the church, advised her rather to endow the two colleges of Christ's and St. John's at Cambridge, and to found divinity lectures, still called the Lady Margaret Professorships, at both universities.

Fortunate indeed it was for the "venerable" lady that death took her before the changes wrought by her grandson ruined her favourite monastery, and before her confessor lost his head on the block. She only survived her beloved son, Henry VII., two months, dying at an advanced age in Westminster Palace, and was buried with some pomp the next day, June 30th, 1509. Fisher preached her funeral sermon, which was afterwards published, and contains an account of her life and benefactions. By her will she directs that her executors "assoone as they convenyently maye aftir our decesse, doe make, or cause to be made, in the chapell there, assoone as our body shall be interred, a convenyent tombe by their discrecians, and oon aulter or II in the same chapell; for the said II chauntery masses there perpetually to be said at the houres and tymes, and with all such prayers and observaunces as is afore rehersed."

Though no indenture is extant, there is no doubt that Lady Margaret's tomb is the work of Torrigiano. The beautiful effigy, lying in calm repose, brings before us Margaret as she must have looked in her old age—the hands are particularly lifelike, small, covered with wrinkles, and full of character. Standing before her peaceful figure one fully realises the strength yet sweetness of her nature; the strength and determination which

ARRIVAL OF THE MESSENGER WITH WOLSEY'S CARDINAL'S HAT.
(*See p.* 136.)

WOLSEY RECEIVING HIS CARDINAL'S HAT.
(*See p.* 137.)

enabled her to succeed in all her plans for her cherished son, who "owed everything" to her, and turned always to her for advice, even when on the throne; the sweetness which justified Fisher's words, that "everyone that knew her, loved her; and everything that she said or did, became her." Stowe justly calls her "the most vertuous princess of her time knowne to the worlde . . . . whose notable acts and charitable deedes all her life exercised, cannot in a small volume be expressed."

Round the verge of her tomb is "a plain and just epitaph," composed by the celebrated Erasmus, who received twenty shillings reward for it. Erasmus was a personal friend of Lady Margaret's, and she tried in vain to induce him to undertake the education of her eldest stepson, James Stanley. He was also the first professor who filled her new divinity chair at Cambridge. A grille, which used to surround this, like most of the other royal monuments in the Abbey, protected the tomb from destruction, and was only cleared away in the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that one of Margaret's stepsons, Sir John Stanley, became a monk, and died here, having apparently taken the vows in a fit of pique against Wolsey, who had imprisoned him in the Fleet for brawling with his Cheshire neighbours.

During the first years of Henry's reign all went on as usual in the Westminster community; the work on the new chapel steadily progressed, and it seems to have been finished about 1519. The richness of the chapel, before the hand of time and of the Puritans touched it, far outshone its present condition. The upper windows were filled with painted glass, but the figure called Henry VII. in the east window, and a few fragments of his badges, are all that remain. Fortunately, the first Protestant iconoclasts contented themselves with pulling down only the central figures over the different altars, so that of the hundred and seven original saints ninety-five actually remain. The banners of the Knights of the Bath, and their arms on the backs of the stalls, were not put here till much later (1725), but the gorgeous plate and costly draperies on every altar must have made, with the jewelled glass, a rich and beautiful whole.

CHAPTER XV.

LAST YEARS OF MONASTIC GREATNESS.

SKELTON, the Poet Laureate, took sanctuary here in his friend Islip's time, in order to escape from Wolsey's wrath, and is said to have composed the curious rhyming epitaphs in Latin and English which used to hang on wooden tablets fixed by iron chains to the grilles of the royal tombs, or on the pillars close by. But that Skelton was the author is by no means certain, for they were completed when Fabyan wrote his chronicle in 1516. The tablets were extant till early in the eighteenth century, when they must have been all removed and destroyed, since there are not even fragments of them in the Triforium, where most of the broken pieces of the grilles yet remain. The curious can still read them in the pages of the old writers, and Dart was probably the last historian of the Abbey who saw them up and copied them.

In 1515 the grand reception of Wolsey's cardinal's hat took place in the Abbey, and is quaintly described by Cavendish, his biographer, and others. The hat itself was sent privately from Rome in what is described as "a varlet's budget." It seems to have been carried secretly to Wolsey at Westminster by "a ruffian . . under his cloke." Wolsey at once sent the messenger back with it to Dover, "and appoynted the (Arch)Bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of Lordes and Gentles I wot not how oft ere it came to Westminster, where it was set on a cupborde and tapers about, so that the greatest Duke in the lande must make curtesie thereto, yea, and to his empty seat, he being away." The "precious jewel" of a hat was conveyed through London with great triumph, and "great and speedy provision and preparation was made in West-

minster Abbey for the confirmation of his high dignity; the which was executed by all the bishops and abbots nigh or about London in rich mitres and copes and other costly ornaments, which was done in so solemn a wise as I have not seen the like, unless it had been at the coronation of a mighty Prince or King." An MS. in the Heralds' College describes the ceremony. It appears that the hat was (November 15th, 1515) sent in procession to the Abbey, escorted by the great prelates and nobles, the streets lined by the mayor and aldermen and different city companies. At the north door it was met by the Abbot of Westminster and eight other abbots all *in pontificalibus*. It was then placed upon the high altar till the following Sunday, when the great cardinal himself rode in procession between eight and nine a.m. to the Abbey, where High Mass was celebrated. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, made "a brief collation," *i.e.* sermon, and "the Bull was read by Doctor Vecy, Deane of the King's Chappell, and Excestre, and at *Agnus Dei* came forth of his travers my Lord Cardinal and kneeled before the middle of the high altar, wheare for a certayne tyme he lay gravelling (grovelling), his hood over his head during benedictions, and prayers concerning the high creation of a cardinal (were) said over him by the Ryght Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterburie, which also sett the hatt upon his head. Then Te Deum was sung." After this the cardinal returned to his palace and gave a great banquet, "the King and Queen and the French Queen—Mary Tudor—being present."

Signs of coming changes were now in the air. In 1518 Wolsey and the Legate Campeius strictly visited the monastery in order to strike terror into other bodies and induce the monks to purchase a remission of the visitatorial authority, and again in 1525 Wolsey's commissary came down upon the convent and was paid off by the sum of one hundred marks. He seems, however, to have favoured Westminster above St. Paul's—"Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword," cries Skelton derisively, "for Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard"—and he removed Convocation hither in 1523. Here—chiefly in the Chapter House till the Dissolution, afterwards in

the Abbey, or in the Jerusalem Chamber and College Hall later—Convocation continued to meet until last century, when it was removed to the Church House. The abbots first and then the deans used to protest on bended knees, as a matter of form, against the intrusion, until the understanding was tacitly arrived at, without the actual protestation, that they were allowed to meet here by favour of the Dean and Chapter, not of the Archbishop of Canterbury. After Wolsey's fall the clergy assembled in the Chapter House, March 31st, 1531, to acknowledge the royal supremacy, and Latimer, kneeling down in the midst, recanted their previous submission to Wolsey as Papal Legate. It was about this time (September, 1531) that Henry made an exchange of lands with the monastery, greatly to its disadvantage and his gain. For the priory of Poughley, in Berkshire (that is, the estates belonging to it, as Wolsey had dissolved the priory to endow Christ Church at Oxford and his college at Ipswich), the King got the valuable hundred acres of land near his Whitehall Palace, in which was included St. James's Park and the hospital for leprous maids, where St. James's Palace now stands.

In 1523 one of Henry's Privy Councillors and his private secretary had been buried in St. John the Baptist's Chapel, the last church dignitary outside the monastery buried here before the troubles of the Dissolution. This was Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, who is said to have died of grief on discovering that he had sent the King an inventory of his own vast wealth, which amounted to £100,000, instead of some State papers. This incident is made use of in the play of *Henry VIII.*, but wrongly applied to Wolsey. "Some years after his death was a fair tomb built over his grave, with his statue mitred and crested, and a small inscription on it, but false (1524) as to the year of his death." When Ruthall's tomb was placed across the door leading from the Ambulatory into the chapel, the present entrance was cut through the little entry chapel called after St. Erasmus.

Alone in solitary state in the chapel he had prepared and decorated with his badges during his life, the last

THE STALLS, HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL

BOSTON AND SIR THOMAS MORE.
(*See p.* 143.)

Prince Abbot of Westminster who is interred within the Abbey was laid nine years after Ruthall's burial. Had Islip lived longer, perhaps such immediate and utter ruin as the Westminster monastery afterwards shared with other rich and powerful bodies, might not have been its lot; for he was much esteemed by Henry VIII., and had pleased the King by signing the letter in favour of his divorce from Katharine of Aragon. His capacity for business was very great. He had been made a Privy Councillor in 1513, and was President of the English Benedictines in 1527; but his best energies were spent in superintending the monastic affairs, visiting the estates, and the continuing of the Abbey. He completed the west end, finished as far as the window frame by Esteney, adding two small towers, which now form the foundations of the eighteenth-century towers, and placing statues of "kings that had been benefactors" in all the vacant niches outside. He also enlarged the abbot's house, probably building the rooms above the Jericho parlour, and the little gallery called the abbot's pew, which opens from them above the nave. Here, when his numerous affairs prevented his attending mass in the choir, he could say his prayers, and hear the lesson read from the "Jesus altar" in the rood loft. Islip designed a high central tower above the lantern to hold a peal of bells, but the central pillars were found too weak to support it, and he, like Wren after him, had to give up the idea. The expenses of the building were defrayed from the rents of the estates, and from the contributions of the monks.

Widmore has copied a detailed account of the funeral from a manuscript in the archives, which is now in the British Museum. The corpse first lay in state at Neate Manor, near London, where Islip died (May 12th, 1532), which was all hung with black cloth, and decorated with the arms and escutcheons belonging to himself and the Abbey. For five days the body remained at Neate, where all the "fathers" of the house and the Abbot of Edmundsbury (Bury St. Edmunds) came and said prayers over it. On the 16th it was removed to the Abbey, the funeral procession reaching

through Dean's Yard as far as Tothill Street. The coffin was carried in at the cloister entrance, and laid upon a hearse prepared for it in the choir. The next day the requiem mass was sung by the Abbot of Edmundsbury, and a funeral sermon was preached by the Vicar of Croydon; the hearse, covered with a gold pall, and two branch candlesticks of silver and gilt lighting it, was left for a time in the choir, as was the custom. The King had sent Lord Windsor as chief mourner, and also the heralds, Richmond and Lancaster, to attend the funeral, and afterwards all the mourners adjourned to a banquet at Neate Manor. In the famous Islip roll* are five pictures : 1, Islip himself ; 2, the abbot lying on his death-bed attended by his patron saints ; 3, a view of the choir with his hearse before described ; 4, his tomb and chantry chapel ; 5, an initial letter with an exterior view of the Abbey, including the unfinished west end. Little remains of Islip's tomb, which used to stand in the centre of his chapel, but is now pushed to one side. The picture shows two slabs of black marble, with an alabaster figure of the abbot in his vestments, upon the lower slab ; the upper slab supported by brass pilasters used to form a canopy over the recumbent figure. Only the lower slab and pilasters are now intact. The abbot's curious rebus—a man slipping from the branch of a tree (I-slip), and an eye with a " slip " of a tree, grasped by a hand—is repeated many times both within and without the chapel. In the chantry chapel above, where prayers used to be said for his soul, the wax and wooden effigies carried at funerals in old days have been kept since early in the last century.

Islip's successor, William Benson, called Boston, from his birthplace in Lincolnshire, was the first stranger since the days of Humez, in 1222, who became Abbot of Westminster. He was Abbot of Burton-on-Trent, and is suspected of having obtained his post here by bribery, since three of the best manors belonging to the abbot's portion were afterwards assigned by him to Sir William Paulet, Comptroller of the Household, and to Thomas Cromwell,

* Given to the Chapter Library in 1747, and borrowed by the Society of Antiquaries in 1791 for reproduction, the roll was reproduced by them in 1808, but has never been returned.

Keeper of the King's Jewels, till the sum of £500, owing to them, had been paid. The exact date of his election is not known, but he was abbot by the 12th of May, 1533. The sole State function during Boston's rule was the coronation of Anne Boleyn, the only one of Henry's queens crowned here. Jane Seymour would have been crowned at Westminster too, but she could not venture into London on account of the Plague. As is well known, Anne's coronation fell exceedingly flat: there was no enthusiasm amongst the people, though the pageants were more than usually magnificent and the lady herself fair to see, or so Cranmer thought when he saw her "sitting in her hair on a horse litter."

The year after Boston's succession he had, according to the provisions of Henry VII.'s will, to take a formal oath to obey the clauses in the indentures drawn up by the late King and Abbot Islip. Owing to the various changes so soon to befall the monastery, Boston is the only abbot who actually took this oath, though the will ordained that every new abbot should be required to swear to it.

The various points from the indentures to which the abbot agreed are in part recapitulated by Rymer, some of the provisions being most curious. For example, the abbot promises to "cause a great bell* in the said monastery solemply and distinctly to be knolled fourtie strokes, for above a quarter of an hour" before the chantry masses. In reference to the almsmen, he promises "to depute and ordeigne a sad and discrete monke of the said monasterie to have the rewle and governance of the said xiii pore men (oon of them being a priest, and the other twelve having

* This bell still exists, though it has been twice recast. It was originally given to the monastery in 1430 by John Whitmell, Isabel, his wife, and William Rus. In 1599 it was recast by order of Dean Goodman, who presented two other smaller bells. In the eighteenth century three new bells were made by Richard Phelps, founder of the great bell at St. Paul's Cathedral, and by his foreman, Thomas Lester, and the old bell was recast by the latter in April, 1738, the year of Phelps's death: the weight is about thirty-six hundredweight, and the width four feet seven inches, the height three feet five inches. This historic bell is known by the name of the "sermon bell." It used to be "knolled" forty strokes before Henry VII. chantry masses, and later on it continued to be knolled forty strokes before a service when a sermon was preached, a custom which is still kept up. It is never tolled for a death now, except for a member of the Royal Family, or for the Dean. There are five other bells in the belfry tower. Numbers three and five were given

no wives) to see that they keep all the statutes and ordinances." Also to find "three honest, sad, and discrete women, to dress meat and drink for the said xiii pore men and kepe them in their seekness," for this they were to receive one shilling and fourpence a week, and "a gowne redie made." The almsmen got twopence a day, the priest fourpence, to be paid every Saturday. The priest had to be a "grammarian" and more than forty-five, while the twelve "bachelors" were to be upwards of fifty. They had to wear long gowns of brown russet at three shillings a yard, lined with black frieze; on the left shoulder a crown and rose were embroidered. The dress of the present almsmen, though differing slightly in the colour, *purple*, and in the badge, the silver *portcullis*, is a survival of this rule.

The abbot was also required to swear to keep up the anniversary of Henry VII. and his Queen, which seems to have been fixed for the 12th of February. Upon this day the King's hearse—which still stood near his grave—and his altar were adorned with a hundred tapers nine feet in length and weighing nine pounds. Round it stood the almsmen holding large torches. The great officers of state knelt before the hearse and laid a copy of the psalm *De profundis*, with the funeral prayers, upon it. This in the presence of the abbot, the whole conventual body, and the Lord Mayor and sheriffs. After forty strokes had sounded in solemn cadence from the "funeral bell," all the other bells began to be tolled, and the lugubrious sound was no doubt echoed from St. Margaret's, and, perhaps, from St. Paul's Cathedral also. The day before funeral sermons were preached both at St. Paul's Cross and in the Abbey, where the abbot and brethren

by Dean Goodman in 1583 and 1598, two and four were made by Lester in 1743. Number four has the inscription: "Thomas Lester, of London, made me, and with the rest I will agree." Number one, the treble, is undated, with the words "*Criste audi nos*" upon it; it was made, according to the great authority on bells, Mr. Wells, by Richard de Wimbis, a bell-founder in the reign of Edward I., late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century. The great bell, the tenor, strikes the hours; one and three the quarters; four and five ring half an hour before morning and evening service for five minutes. Another small bell, called "The Saints' Bell," cast by Phelps and Lester in 1738, rings fifteen minutes before the daily services, and before the communion and the school services. A bell cast by Lester in 1749 used to hang in a gable of the South Transept, and was called the "Poets' Corner" bell.

sang the funeral mass. At the conclusion of the anniversary service alms were distributed to the poor and to the almsmen. Four tapers, fixed in sockets decorated with Henry's badges, burnt perpetually upon the hearse, and thirty others were lit on certain special occasions. Such was the honour paid to the memory of the great Tudor benefactor as long as the monastery lasted. The anniversaries, services, and wax tapers were soon at an end, but his memory is kept ever green in his beautiful monument and by the name of his chapel.

Sir Thomas More spent a short while in 1534 under the custody of Boston, who, with an eager desire to show his subservient loyalty, tried to convince him of the error of his ways, but found his arguments thrown away. More has related how, when he told the abbot it would be against his conscience to acknowledge the royal supremacy, Boston replied that "he had cause to fear his mind was erroneous when he saw the great Council of the Realm determine contrary to his mind, and, therefore, he ought to change his conscience"—a feat which the abbot himself accomplished with apparent ease at the Dissolution.

Henry's covetous eye had been already gloating on the fat lands of Westminster: St. James's Park had gone, and in 1536 two more exchanges of land between King and convent, greatly to the advantage of the former, were confirmed by Acts of Parliament. Hyde—now Hyde Park—Ebury, the name of which remains to us in Ebury Bridge and Ebury Street, Neate, the abbots' favourite manor house near London, Toddington (Teddington), the advowson of Chelsea Rectory, some lands at Greenwich, and several meadows and closes near the Horse Ferry (now remembered in the name of Horseferry Road, on the Westminster side of the river), and lastly the important estate of Convent (Covent) Garden, were all taken by the King, who gave the monastery in exchange for these—their most valuable estates—only the newly-dissolved priory of Hurley, with its lands and a "great wood," called Hurley Wood. In 1536, by the suppression of all feasts held in harvest time, the Abbey was shorn of one of its great features and another source of revenue, the

anniversary festivals, since harvest time was supposed to include the months from July 1st to October 31st. Thus the great historic feast of the Confessor's translation could no longer be held, and the loss of this was but a small part of the misfortunes so soon to overwhelm the Confessor's beloved church.

THE MONKS SIGN THE DEED OF SURRENDER.
(*See p.* 145.)

REMOVING THE ALTAR CLOTHS AND VESTMENTS FROM THE ABBEY IN 1550.
(*See p.* 152.)

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY.

The time had now come when the monastery of St. Peter's was no more to lift its head above its rivals, or see unscathed the lesser conventual bodies falling to pieces in all directions. In late July, 1536, Cromwell appointed a committee to put in force the Act for the dissolution of the monasteries, and a general order was issued for the taking away of shrines, images, and relics. Although the Westminster monastery held together four years longer, the shrine was demolished this year, the relics dispersed, and many of the saints' figures over the altars destroyed. In August the monks, fearing for the precious body of St. Edward, are said to have taken his coffin and buried it somewhere in the church—probably on the site of the demolished shrine—till safer days should come; and it was at this time that they hid the twisted pillars and mosaic work of the pedestal of the shrine. The golden shrine itself was no doubt melted down for the King's coffers, while the ornaments, plate, and relics were seized and sold. The golden statues of St. John and the Confessor, and the famous ring, must have shared the same fate, for the last abbot in Mary's days found only the pedestal of the shrine had been preserved.

On the 16th of January, 1540, the abbot and monks—twenty-four in number—signed the so-called "voluntary" deed, by which they surrendered the Abbey and all its estates into the hands of the King. The Latin instrument, with the names of the brethren, is still extant amongst the archives, and is printed in several histories of the Abbey. The obsequiousness of abbot and monks was rewarded by new posts, for Henry at once set about forming the dissolved monastery into a bishop's see, and the Abbey church into a cathedral. With the immense

revenues, amounting annually to about £70,000 of our money, the King could afford to be generous; and on the 17th of December, 1540, letters patent were issued appointing Thomas Thirleby (Dean of the Chapel Royal) Bishop of Westminster, with Middlesex (excepting the parish of Fulham) for his see, and directing that a dean, twelve canons, and inferior officers should be appointed. The bishopric was endowed with an annual revenue, amounting to about £600, and the bishop was given the abbot's house for his palace. In the letters patent of January 20th, 1541, further lands are granted to the see, and the new palace is spoken of as "Cheneygates," so called because a chain used to be fixed in monastic times across the cloisters' entrance. Besides the abbot's house and its garden the bishop was given various other monastic buildings, including the cloisters near his palace, the great convent kitchen, and the "Elms"—*i.e.* the northern half of Dean's Yard. Boston had to move from his old quarters in the abbot's house to another looking into the monastery garden, said to have been the old "misericord," where the brethren used to eat and drink the *misericord*, those meals at which flesh meat was served. The misericord was distinct from the common refectory.

The abbot and monks—that is, the loyal ones—were compensated in various ways. Boston became the new dean under his family name of Benson; five of the monks were metamorphosed into canons, and four into minor canons. Four of the younger brethren were elected to the King's studentships in the university; fifteen others were given small pensions, varying from £10 to five marks, and sent away. Thirleby was consecrated on December 19th, 1540, in Henry VII.'s Chapel—now called St. Saviour's, instead of the Lady Chapel, because dedications to the Virgin were looked on as objectionable at the Reformation—but it was nearly two years before the new chapter was installed in the disused monastic buildings.

The patent for the endowment of the capitulary body is dated August 5th, 1542, and estates, formerly belonging to Westminster and to other dissolved monasteries, to the amount of £2,698, were assigned to its support. The earliest chapter book, therefore, begins in 1542. The

chapter was at first obliged to pay an annual £400 out of their endowment to support ten readers or professors—five in each university—and also to maintain twenty students at Oxford and Cambridge at the cost of £166 13s. 4d. a year. This arrangement lasted, however, for a very few years, the chapter making an agreement with Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, by which they ceased paying these salaries, and surrendered lands instead to the annual value of £567 to the two colleges (1544-1546).

The monastic school, held by the monks in early days in the cloisters, had flourished under different systems till now. Under Edward III. a master "to teach grammar" was appointed, with a salary paid by the Almoner; and, soon after the chapter was constructed, one Nowell was made headmaster (1543), the first whose name is extant: the school then consisted of forty boys.

For a brief space the mitred Abbot of Westminster, changed into a dean, had to endure the rule of a bishop; but as Thirleby was a mild old man, and Benson one who swayed his opinions to the expediencies of the time, no quarrel took place between them. It is recorded that bishop and dean bought the ancient tapestries, then hanging in the Jerusalem Chamber, from the Crown, which had seized upon them, and divided them, so one-half adorned the bishop's palace, the other the temporary deanery.

Various changes took place now in the extensive monastic buildings. The great refectory was actually pulled down by the dean's servant, Guy Gaskon—*i.e.* under the superintendence of this man, who can only have acted with Benson's authority. The vacant ground was granted to a prebendary, and a house built there, afterwards rebuilt and called Ashburnham House, which, with its garden, in 1881 passed into the hands of the school. The old refectory door, with the place where the monks washed their hands in the wall beside it, still remains in the cloisters, and many parts of the old walls also exist. One piece is in particularly good preservation, as it was built into the deanery. The first germ of the chapter library, probably those of the old monastic books and

MSS. which survived the general plundering, was collected in the north cloister, where the monastic library used to be. The smaller dormitory was cleared away (1546), and the old granary in Dean's Yard divided up, and used for the corn belonging to the dean and canons.

It is interesting to note that Elizabeth's connection with the Abbey, which was afterwards to owe so much to her favour, began when she was a girl of thirteen (1544). One John Pennicott was, at her request, appointed a bell-ringer, and leased from the chapter the old house called the "Anchorite's," near St. Margaret's, where once had dwelt that hermit to whom the Kings, Richard II. and Henry V., were wont to resort.

The Chapter House, where Parliament had sat for so many generations, and where so many tumultuous councils had taken place, was after 1547, when the Commons moved to St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster, used as a record-house. The last meeting of any special interest held there had been in 1540, when Convocation had met to consult about the divorce of Anne of Cleves. No more now, however, could the King think of such trivial matters as the divorce or execution of a wife, for during the very month (January, 1547) when the Houses met for the last time in the Chapter House, he lay dying at Whitehall Palace close by. With his last breath he sealed the fate of the old Duke of Norfolk, one of the accusations against whom was that he had concealed the treasonable act of his son—the gallant Surrey—in assuming the arms of the Confessor on his banner. Henry had long given up his early plan of lying in his father's chapel at Westminster. To him there was no attraction in the name of the Confessor; the outer glories of the chapel of the kings had departed with the golden, jewelled shrine and the relics, and Windsor Chapel seemed to him a more attractive resting-place, perhaps because he desired his bones to lie near those of Jane Seymour, the mother of his heir.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST DEANS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REFORMATION.

HENRY'S son and heir—Edward—was now a delicate child of ten. Great preparations were made for his coronation, which was fixed for Shrove Sunday, the 20th of February, 1547, four days after Henry's interment at Windsor. Jousts were held for the last time in the green fields round the church, and amongst the pageants was an old man enthroned and crowned, who represented Edward the Confessor. At nine a.m. the choir, "in their copes and three goodly crosses before them, and after them three other goodly crosses, and the King's chapel with his children (*i.e.* choristers) following all in scarlet, with surplices and copes on their backs," went from the west door of the Abbey to the Palace. Following them came ten bishops "in scarlet, with their rochets and rich copes on their backs and mitres on their heads," and the archbishop with his cross borne before him. The dean now no longer took his place as mitred abbot in front of the other ecclesiastics, and his position is not even mentioned. "Certain blue cloths" were "laid over the churchyard and all the Palace even to York Place," and the King was borne to the Abbey, seated in a chair.

The ceremony was curtailed partly on account of the new king's youth, partly because various points in the mass were offensive to Edward's guardian and uncle—the Protector Somerset—and his party. It must be remembered that Henry, while breaking with the Pope, had never declared himself against the Roman Catholic religion, but that the usual masses and services had gone on in the Abbey as before the Dissolution, though without the anniversaries and other extra festivals. Now, however, Puritan ideas were to rule for a while, and things were

about to be changed. Perhaps the most significant alteration in the coronation service was the attitude assumed by the Primate in the name of the new Tudor king towards his subjects. No longer was the free assent of the people asked, and the reply given by the clamour of voices and clashing of swords, but Archbishop Cranmer presented Edward to his people as the rightful heir to the throne, and demanded the consent they were, he said, "in duty of allegiance" bound to give. In his sermon the Archbishop spoke of the Sovereign as the sole head of the Church, and asserted for the first time at an English coronation that Divine right of kings which was in later days to prove so fatal a claim under the Stuarts.

The anointing was done by the Archbishop "kneeling on his knees, and the King lying prostrate on the altar . . . 'a goodly, fair cloth of red tinsel gold over his head,'" and after the anointing it was Dean Benson's duty "to dry all places of his body, where he was anointed, with cotton or some linen cloth which is to be burnt."

Three crowns—the Confessor's, the Imperial crown, and one made specially to fit the boy king's head—were used, and three swords were offered as usual. It is said that the proud Duke of Somerset held Edward's crown in his hand for "a certain space," as if he were pondering on the easiest way to snatch it for his own, and then, while the Te Deum was sung inside the church, and the silver trumpets sounded from the battlements outside, he and the Primate placed it on the young king's head.

The Abbey, which had suffered in the first instance from the cupidity of Henry VIII., had recovered a certain stability under his new *régime*. Now, however, with the zealous Puritanism of the Protector fresh dangers assailed the historic church. It was said that Somerset meant to pull down the building, but it is more likely that he intended to demolish St. Margaret's Church as a useless building, now that there were no monastic regulations to prevent the ordinary public from worshipping in the Abbey. His ultimate intentions, however, cannot now be discovered, but the fourteen manors Henry VIII. had given back to the chapter, including Convent (Covent)

Garden, the abbot's private lands round about the Abbey, with the enclosure, called the Elms (Dean's Yard), the "Long Acre," and the "Seven Acres," were granted by the dean to the Protector, and he proceeded to dig up the trees in what used to be the Abbot's orchard, where is now Orchard Street. Twenty-two tons of Caen stone from the old building (probably the refectory and other monastic offices), which had been pulled down, were promised him "if there can be so much spared . . . in the hope that he would be good and gracious." These materials were used for that great palace in the Strand called Somerset House, which the Duke was then building, since pulled down.

Benson did not long survive his new difficulties. He died in September, 1549, his death proceeding, Heylyn tell us, "from a trouble of mind that he had granted away in long lease too much of the lands of the church —some to Lord Seymour (Admiral Seymour, the Protector's brother) and some to persons for the use of the Duke of Somerset, though this was done in order to prevent a suppression." Widmore's view that "some long leases were then granted, and the thing might sit heavy upon the spirits of a man whose great concern seems to have been the possession or enjoyment of a large income," is more consistent with the character of the first dean. It was at this time that the proverb "rob Peter to pay Paul" originated, a sum of money raised from the sale of some of the Abbey estates being used to repair St. Paul's Cathedral. Benson was buried at the entrance to St. Faith's Chapel. His post was soon filled by a Protestant, Richard Cox, who was installed October 22nd, 1549. He was a Cambridge man, who had been suspected of favouring Luther's doctrines in Wolsey's time, but had nevertheless afterwards become head-master of Eton and dean of Christ Church, Oxford. As one of Edward's tutors and a Privy Councillor, he was in high favour at Court, and in sympathy with the Protestant party. For the first time a *married* dean now took the place of the celibate Prince Abbot.

Cox's first act was to substitute the Communion Service for the Mass, changing the vestments for plain

Protestant black gowns. Strype, in his Memorials under the year 1550, says: "The Church of Westminster, nearer the King's house than any other, was not yet freed from superstitions both in apparel and books (*i.e.* the mass books), which were still preserved there, which occasioned a letter dated in February, from the King and his council to the members of that church, that in the presence of the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Anthony Aucher, all manner of garnishments and apparel of silver and gold—such as altar cloths, copes, etc.—should be taken away, and delivered to the said Sir Anthony to deface, and to deface and carry out of the library at Westminster all books of superstition, such as missals, etc." It is thus quite explicable why so few remains of monastic times are left at Westminster. The early copes, some made actually from the Confessor's burial robes, were carried off by these reforming vandals. The beautiful illuminated missals and MSS., of which our rich monastery no doubt possessed a goodly number, were destroyed, though even the first Puritans, with all their new zeal, left the great Litlington missal unhurt, as an heirloom to the church. Not satisfied with this spoliation, the commissioners set to work again three years later (1553), and this time made a general clearance of all the plate and furniture of the church, except a silver pot, two gilt cups with covers, two hearse cloths, twelve cushions, one carpet, eight stall cloths for the choir, three pulpit cloths, a little carpet for the dean's stall, and two tablecloths. Thus, whatever Henry VIII. had spared of the splendid plate and beautiful vestments, once showered by royal givers upon the church, was finally swept away by his son's rapacious guardians. There was in fact no shadow of justification for this plunder; "to leave so fine a place so very bare when there was no other public necessity but what greedy courtiers had made can hardly be excused."*

Owing, no doubt, to Cox's connection with Cambridge, Redmayne, Master of Trinity, "one of the most learned and moderate of the early reformers," and one of the compilers of the first reformed liturgy, was buried in the Abbey in 1551.

* Widmore.

The brief rule of the first and only Bishop of Westminster came to an abrupt end. Thirleby was obliged to resign, by royal authority, and, after becoming Bishop successively of Norwich (when Bishop of Norwich he lived in the Westminster precincts for a time) and Ely, and a Privy Councillor under Mary, he was suspended by Elizabeth, on his refusal to take the oath of supremacy. The last ten years of his life were spent in honourable captivity—treated as a guest rather than a prisoner at Lambeth Palace, under the care of Archbishop Parker. He died the 26th of August, 1570, and was buried in Lambeth parish church. Over two hundred years later, in 1783, when Archbishop Cornwallis's grave was dug, Thirleby's body was seen, lying dressed as a pilgrim, "with his cross in his hand, and his hat under his arm." On his resignation, the deanery, which had been his palace, was granted to Lord Wentworth, Lord Chamberlain, who only lived there a year. He died on the 7th of March, 1551, and was buried with much heraldic pomp in the Islip Chapel, Miles Coverdale preaching the funeral sermon.

As there was no mention of the dean and chapter in the letters patent for the suppression of the bishopric, they were left in the same independent position which the monastery had so long enjoyed, *i.e.* exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But, for another brief space —till Edward's death—their independence was taken away again, this time by an Act of Parliament (1550), which made the Abbey a cathedral in the *Diocese of London*. It had at least retained its independence before with its own bishop. A further indignity was offered to the traditions of the monastery when some of the lands, Westbourne and Paddington, taken from the suppressed see, originally monastic estates, were actually given partly to the Bishopric of London and partly to its old rival, St. Paul's.

With the fall of Somerset, in 1552, there was no more talk of destroying the Abbey, but all the signs of the times now pointed to a fresh lease of life for the old foundations. Disease was working havoc on the constitution of the youthful king. In spite of all the care

of Northumberland, it was impossible to conceal his state from the nation, and his sister, "Madam Mary," became day by day a more important and powerful person. For some part of the year 1552 there was a deceptive improvement in the boy's health; but early in 1553 he rapidly grew worse, and on July 6th, within three months of his sixteenth year, his sufferings were at last at an end. The funeral was delayed a month, the body being embalmed, and carried from Greenwich, where Edward died, to Whitehall, while Mary crushed Lady Jane Grey's pretensions, and had herself proclaimed queen. The dean, "for participation in Lady Jane's treason," was sent to the Tower on the 5th of August, where he remained for a fortnight, and was therefore not present at the burial of his former pupil and sovereign.

There were many negotiations between Mary and her ministers about the funeral rites, but it was finally decided to bury the Protestant king with a Protestant service. It was, therefore, the first royal funeral without the mass, and the first at which the existing burial service was used. Cranmer was allowed to perform the service, by special permission of the Queen, "after the reformed way by the English service book, to which was joined a communion by him also administered though after much opposition," and Dr. Day, the Protestant Bishop of Chichester, preached the sermon. Mary and her ladies heard a requiem meantime in the Tower chapel. The diarist Machyn has left an elaborate account of the funeral, the charges for which amounted to £5,976 9s. 9d. Machyn describes the scene in the streets, where, as the procession passed along from Whitehall to the Abbey, people were weeping and lamenting, and making the greatest moan for his death as ever was heard or seen. The Protestants' tears were caused by deeper sorrow than the loss of their boy sovereign, and were soon justified by coming events. Upon the funeral chariot, which was surrounded by a great company of clerics and choristers, followed by the Abbey bedesmen, lay an effigy of the deceased king dressed in his rich parliament robes and a gold embroidered coat, with the garter about his leg. Above the effigy were borne four banners,

upon which were the Tudor rose and the arms of Jane Seymour, the dead king's mother. Behind the hearse a "goodly" horse, covered with black cloth, was led by the Master of the Horse. On the same day a "majesty," or, as Machyn calls it, "a goodly herse," was set up in Whitehall Chapel, and another in the Abbey—the latter with three standards, bearing the devices of the lion of England, the dragon of the Tudors, and the greyhound of the Nevilles.

Some doubt having existed as to the exact position of Edward's grave, Dean Stanley examined the vault of Henry VII., and found his leaden coffin to the west of his grandfather's, in the passage which leads into the vault. Upon a corroded and twisted leaden plate, lying loose on the coffin, was the inscription, calling him "on earth under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland the supreme head." On opening the coffin, the young king's head was found to be without hair; in the accounts of his last illness the loss of his hair is mentioned as one of the worst symptoms.

It was in this vault that Dean Stanley found the fragments of Torrigiano's beautiful altar (see p. 246), which formed the high altar to the chapel, and was destroyed by Sir Robert Harley in 1641. In after days it was looked upon as Edward's monument, and was actually engraved by Sandford as such. It was long believed that Edward's body lay beneath the little altar of touchstone and brass which once stood at the east end of Henry VII.'s tomb, until all doubt was set at rest by Dean Stanley's researches.

The first result of the change of dynasties and the approaching change in religion was the deprival of the Protestant Dean of Westminster a week after his release from the Tower. Cox prudently retired abroad, but returned early in Elizabeth's reign, and was made Bishop of Ely, where he died in 1581.

Mary selected her private chaplain—Dr. Hugh Weston, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, a man of questionable character—as Cox's successor, and he was installed on the 18th of September, 1553.

All the preliminaries of the Queen's coronation now

had to be settled. The chief difficulty in her path was the Act of Parliament which cut both her and Elizabeth off from the succession as illegitimate. But the Tudor determination helped Mary to triumph over every obstacle. She flung herself at the feet of the Lords of the Council and implored them to stand by her in her resolve to be crowned queen without waiting till parliament could repeal the obnoxious Act. So great was her personal influence that the most prudent of her supporters gave way to her arguments, and the coronation day was fixed for the 1st of October. A fresh supply of holy oil had to be blessed by the Bishop of Arras, lest that used since the Pope's interdict should have lost its virtue.

The procession from the Tower to Whitehall Palace passed off quietly on the 30th of September. The Queen rode in a splendid litter, surrounded by her lords, through the decorated streets, bestowing a glance of approval on Underhill, the "Hot Gospeller," who had crawled out of bed with the gaol fever still upon him to see her pass. Henry's repudiated wife—Anne of Cleves—and his repudiated daughter—Elizabeth—drove in an open chariot behind the Queen, and in the procession up the Abbey and at the banquet after the ceremony next day were given places of honour. The story told by Froude of the French Ambassador's consoling remark to the latter Princess is well known. He reminded her, when she complained of the weight of her coronet during the service, that before long, perhaps, she would exchange it for a crown.

On the coronation day the Queen went by water to Westminster Palace, and thence walked on blue cloth to the Abbey. The choir was hung with rich arras, the cold pavement covered with rushes, and a boarded pathway made from the west door to the stage where the coronation chair was prepared before the high altar.

Both Primates and the Bishop of London were in the Tower, so Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, performed the ceremony of anointing, and the Dean of Westminster assisted as the Abbot had been wont to do. The sermon was preached by Day, Bishop of Chichester, the preacher at Edward's funeral. Beyond the fact—long afterwards mentioned by Feckenham—that a ring was put on the

Queen's marrying finger by the Bishop, and that a general pardon was proclaimed, there is nothing that calls for any special remark in Mary's coronation.

Five days later Mary rode to the Abbey in her Parliament robes, and after the Mass of the Holy Ghost received the sceptre and the "other things," as Machyn somewhat vaguely remarks, from two bishops.

The Roman ritual was now restored in the Abbey, and in March, 1554, nine of the Protestant prebendaries were displaced, including Grindall and Nowell (the schoolmaster), and their places filled by Catholics, one of whom was a Spaniard. Three of the original clergy kept their places, and returned to the old faith, one of them—Perne—becoming famous for such changes, as he changed again under Elizabeth. Against the names of the other two, "Turncoats" is written in the chapter book in a later hand.

In the chapter book, which temporarily closes this year (1554) are sad accounts of the behaviour of the new capitulary body, which justify Weston's ill reputation. Pandemonium must have ruled at the College dinners, when cutlery flew about the tables, and one ecclesiastic, whose name is unrecorded, breaks another's head with a pot. Indeed, the new dean is called by Burnet "a constant drunkard." At first, however, he maintained his favour with the Queen. On Candlemas Day, 1554, he preached before Mary in Whitehall Chapel with armour beneath his vestments, while Wyatt's rebellious forces were fighting their way into London. He afterwards attended Wyatt and various other prisoners of state on the scaffold.

On July 25, 1554, Mary was married to Philip II. of Spain, in Winchester Cathedral, and in November she brought her Spanish husband to a grand mass at the Abbey before the meeting of Parliament. On the Feast of St. Andrew, also the Festival of the Golden Fleece (November 30th), after the arrival of Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate, who was not, however, present, a service of reconciliation between the Pontiff and the erring country was celebrated at Westminster. Philip and a long procession of his courtiers, dressed in yellow velvet

striped with red, with yellow feathers and yellow hose, attended it, but Mary's health prevented her from being present. The Queen was already deluding herself with hopes of an heir, who should cement the alliance between the Holy See and the united kingdoms of England and Spain, and Weston's last recorded appearance as dean was when he carried the host in one of the processions which marched through the streets of London offering prayers for Mary's safe delivery.

The Queen's hopes were disappointed, and she threw herself with fresh zest into religious projects, including schemes to re-found some of the ruined monasteries. Weston, unwilling to consent to a change at Westminster, lost her favour by withstanding her desire to restore the old foundation, and was, therefore, moved to the deanery at Windsor in 1556. He was deprived of his new post there by Cardinal Pole on account of his bad morals, and finally, after a short imprisonment in the Tower upon Elizabeth's accession, died in retirement at a friend's house in Fleet Street (December, 1558), and was buried in the Savoy Chapel.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MONASTERY RESTORED.

The monastery of Westminster was now, for the last time, and for a brief period, to flourish as of old. Mary had not money enough in her impoverished treasury to restore the church to all its pristine splendour, even had it been possible to replace those priceless relics and the ancient plate and vestments so ruthlessly destroyed by Protestant zeal. But at least she could restore the monastic rule. As soon as Weston and his opposition were disposed of, a deed by which the monastery was refounded was drawn up at Croydon, September 7th, 1556, under the supervision of the legate, Cardinal Pole. This charter differed from the old in the great stress laid on the Pope's authority. In all former documents the Sovereign had been the most important person. The new abbots, also, were only to hold their office for three years, as Pole disapproved of life tenure. The legate empowered the dispossessed *chapter* to resign their estates to the Queen, who granted them back to the *monastery*. The existing prebendaries were Catholics ; the others had fled, or had been deprived before, and had received pensions. There is a bond for £30 between the abbot and the Spanish canon afterwards, by which the abbot, "as well as any other person *to whomsoever* the said monastery should come," is bound over to repay the money—a sign of the insecurity of the times. The abbot was to be nominated without either *congé d'élire* or any confirmation requiring the royal assent. Pole, dissatisfied by the old rules of the house, sent to Italy for two monks, who were to establish the discipline observed in the more rigid convents abroad, and himself afterwards drew up a code of regulations for the new foundation.

John Feckenham—"a short man of a round visage,

affable and pleasant"—the Queen's confessor, and dean of St. Paul's, was chosen as the abbot, and proved a worthy successor to Islip, and to the other great and holy men who had filled the abbacy. He was a man of education, an eloquent preacher, and renowned for his tolerance—tolerance which he showed by his kindness to the persecuted Protestants under Mary. Born of poor parents, Humfrey and Florence Howman (*i.e.* Woodman), he had taken the name of his birthplace, Feckenham Forest, Worcestershire, when he became a monk. As a child his aptitude for learning, "a natural genius to good letters, and to anything that seemed good," brought him under the notice of his parish priest, who, after teaching the boy himself for a time, got him admitted into the Benedictine monastery of Evesham. When about eighteen, he was sent to Gloucester Hall, Oxford. From the university, however, he was recalled by his abbot to teach the novitiate, and was at Evesham when, on the 17th of November, 1537, that monastery was surrendered to Henry VIII. Feckenham affixed his name with the other brethren to the deed of surrender, and then returned to study at Gloucester Hall, having an annual pension of a hundred florins granted to him, as to his fellow-monks. He took his B.D. at Oxford, and was admitted to the reading of the sentences in 1539, being then chaplain to Dr. Bell, Bishop of Worcester; and on his resignation, in 1543, he became chaplain to the celebrated Bonner. While with Bonner, as Fuller remarks in his quaint language, "he crossed the proverb *like master, like man*, the patron being cruel, the chaplain kinde, to such who in judgment dissented from him. He never dissembled his religion, being a zealous papist, and under King Edward the Sixth suffered much for his conscience."

In 1544 Feckenham was made Rector of Solihull, near Birmingham, where various records of his ministry remain, amongst others an old vellum MS. "contayning the charitable almes give(n) by the way of love to the parishioners of Solyhul, with the order of distribution thereof begune by Maister John Howman, alias Fecknam, priste and doctor of divinitie, late parson of Solyhul aforesayde in the year of our Lord MDXLVIII." A pre-

CORONATION OF MARY: THE PROGRESS TO WESTMINSTER.
(*See p.* 156.)

FECKENHAM ARGUING UPON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.
(*See p.* 161.)

face, exhorting to charity, and delivering over the £10 already received to his successor and four gentlemen of the parish, is dated March 6th, 1549, and shows that Feckenham must have had to resign his living some time before his imprisonment, as he was not sent to the Tower till October. He was deprived on account of his refusal to conform to the new liturgy, and acknowledge the royal supremacy. The names of Feckenham's parents are recorded for the first time here, as donors of £40 to the parish—a gift which shows that their circumstances must have improved since their son's boyhood. The degree of D.D., was not given to Feckenham till 1557, according to Anthony à Wood, but this discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that the MS. is "a true copy of the original and first book," made by one Richard Spencer, who was servant to Feckenham, "then being Lord Abbot of Westmonastery and at his last imprisonment in the Tower," and the doctor's degree was very likely inserted by the scribe.

To the Tower, as we have said, the late rector was sent a few months after he had compiled his list of charities, and here he remained for the rest of Edward's reign. The esteem in which he was held is shown, however, by the fact that he was brought from the Tower while still a prisoner, in order to take part in two controversies about transubstantiation (1557).

With Mary's accession, Feckenham was released, and rose high in her favour, constantly preaching before her. She sent him to visit Lady Jane Grey in prison, and he was with her on the scaffold, but his well-meant efforts to convert that staunch Protestant failed. From the Deanery of St. Paul's he came to the great post of Lord Abbot of Westminster.

Some difficulty, according to the Protestant historian Fuller, was experienced in collecting Benedictine monks for the new foundation. He says that only fourteen could be found in England "which were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions," and Cardinal Pole had had trouble before this in getting rid of the objectionable canons. That some of these monks were from Glastonbury is shown by a petition sent in from four

of the Westminster brethren, praying the Queen to restore their old convent at Glastonbury, suppressed under Henry VIII. One of the new Westminster monks called himself Sebert, after the reputed first founder.

The sanctuary rights at Westminster had been very much restricted under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but not, as in other places, abolished. In 1540 the time of safety was curtailed to forty days, and only twenty persons at a time were allowed to take sanctuary, a statute of Edward VI. still further narrowed the privilege. But now all the privileges of sanctuary were restored, the refugees being only obliged to take an oath to observe the regulations of the monastery, and not to profane Sunday. Feckenham's first act, about a fortnight after his installation (December 6th, 1556), had been to go in procession with his monks round the church, the sanctuary men, with cross keys on their garments, before him, and after them went "three for murder," one of these being George Darcy, son of Lord Darcy, who had killed one Lewis West in a family feud. Another was a thieving servant of the Lord Comptroller's, who had murdered his master's tailor in Long Acre; and the third was one of the Westminster schoolboys, who had killed a big boy that sold papers and printed books in Westminster Hall by "horlyng" a stone at him, which hit him behind the ear.

The abbot then turned his attention to the Confessor's dismantled and ruined monument. The golden shrine had been melted under Henry VIII., and the altar at the west end destroyed. The lower part also had been taken down and hidden: a piece of the cornice was discovered in 1868 embedded in the wall of the school, and replaced. Part of one of the small pillars was found when some houses were pulled down in Cowley Street, where the old millstream ran. The poverty of both queen and abbot was so great that they were unable to restore all the gold and gems, and could only provide the present wooden top, which encloses the coffin. The altar was replaced, and Mary sent "divers jewels" for it. A slab, decorated with glass mosaic, now at the west end, was once the reredos, and there are still to be seen the holes in which the rods for the curtains at the sides of the altar were fixed. The

original Latin inscription on the cornice above in blue glass mosaic, which recorded the name of the maker of the shrine—"Peter, a Roman citizen"—and the date* of its completion, with the quaint addition of: "Reader, if thou wouldest know how it was done, it was because Henry was the present saint's friend," was actually plastered over by Feckenham, on account of its damaged condition, and only a few of the letters can now be seen. The abbot put a new inscription over the old in praise of the Confessor, omitting all reference to either Henry or Peter. The short Latin inscriptions on the tombs of the kings are said to have been placed here at this time; some are probably copies of the old, such as the famous motto "Pactum serva," and the words "Scotorum malleus," on the tomb of Edward I., which latter seems to have been merely a painting over of the original inscription. The words on the third Edward's monument, which speak of his fame as "above our heaven," and that he "fought for our country," are the same as those beneath this king's statue at Trinity College, Cambridge.

The two twisted pillars covered with mosaic at the western corners are conjectured by Mr. Wall to be the "feet" presented by Henry III. to hold the candles, afterwards used to support the golden statues of the Confessor and St. John given by Edward II., but it is much more probable that these were two of the original four pillars which stood one at each corner, supporting the cornice of the shrine.

The preparations for setting up the tomb anew were begun on the Confessor's death day, the 5th of January, 1557, but it was not till the 20th of March that the body of King Edward was exhumed with great ceremony. As the coffin of the saint had been buried on the site of the shrine, the work of rebuilding could not begin till it was removed.

A month (April 21st) after, Machyn speaks of the shrine as completely finished, when the Duke of Muscovy came to dinner with Feckenham, and after dinner "went

* Antiquaries differ in regard to the deciphering of the date. Burges and others make it 1260, Mr. Micklethwaite reads it 1279, which would put the completion of the shrine ten years later than the removal of the saint's body.

up to se St. Edward shryne new set up," and then saw "all the plasse through." Machyn had always been very partial to the abbot's sermons, sitting under him—or rather standing—when he was Dean of St. Paul's and preached at St. Paul's Cross and other places. Now he went to hear him at the Abbey on Passion Sunday (April 5th) preach "as goodly a sermon as has been heard in our time."

In May of this year (1557) Feckenham was able to leave his narrow quarters in the Little Cloisters and return to the abbot's house, which was given back to the monastery by Lord Wentworth's son, who received the Manor of Canonbury in exchange. On August 1st the Bishop of London and the Abbot of Westminster "closed in" the newly-restored order of the Nuns of Sion at the old Charterhouse at Isleworth, who were "never to go forth as long as they do live," but who were ejected under Elizabeth on the 3rd of July, 1559, after only two years' incarceration. With the ecclesiastics came some members of the council, and certain friars belonging to the same order as the nuns, wearing garments of undyed sheep's wool.

The abbot lost no opportunity of keeping up the great festivals, and on November 30th, 1557, St. Andrew's Day, just a year and a day after his consecration, Feckenham, wearing his mitre, went in procession "round about the Abbey," followed by the monks and clerks singing *Salve festa dies*, and then sang mass in the presence of the Queen. Philip had gone back to Spain, never to return, soon after his appearance in the Abbey on Ascension Day. Another great service was held the following Easter Eve, March 21st, 1558, when a paschal candle, weighing 300 lbs., and made with great solemnity, was provided by the abbot; and the master and wardens of the Wax Chandlers Company, who had been present at the making of the great candle, attended mass, and dined with the abbot afterwards.

Various people were buried in the Abbey under Feckenham. Wentworth, the Queen's cofferer, to whom the Deanery had been leased, died the year after he had given it back to the abbot, and lies here; also Sir Thomas

THE ABBOT'S COURTYARD.

THE BURIAL OF ANNE OF CLEVES.
(*See p.* 165.)

Clifford, Governor of Berwick, and his lady. A Spanish noble—Diego Sanchez, one of Philip's household—is in the North Transept. On October 23rd, 1558, Master Jennings, a retainer of Mary's, was buried with some pomp.

On the 29th of July, 1557, there passed quietly away in her private house at Chelsea one whose want of comeliness had saved her from a perilous honour. Anne of Cleves, repudiated by the father, won the friendship of his two daughters, both the children of mothers far more unfortunate as Henry's Queen-Consorts than their would-be successor, in her honourable retirement. Mary ordered that royal honours should be paid to the remains of this illustrious Dutch lady, and she was buried in Westminster Abbey with every mark of distinction on the 3rd of August. Machyn has graphically described the scene. For days the carpenters had been busy preparing a gorgeous hearse, and now the body was brought from Chelsea attended by the Abbot of Westminster and his monks, and Bonner, Bishop of London, followed by a long train of clergy, of nobles, and of dependents. Into the Abbey filed that long and imposing procession, all clothed in deepest mourning. The body was laid upon a hearse prepared before the high altar, where it remained all night, tapers burning round it.

The next day a requiem was sung for the deceased Princess, and "my Lord Abbott of Westmynster mad as goodly a sermon as ever was mad, and (then) the Byshope of London song Masse in ys myter (and after) Masse my Lord Byshope and my Lord Abbott, mytered, did censse the corse." Afterwards the coffin was carried to the grave prepared for it on the south side of the high altar. The tomb was lined with black, and a "herse clothe of golde" was laid over the coffin, while the heralds broke their white rods and the officers of her household their staves, according to custom, and cast them into the grave. After mass was over the abbot gave a great dinner, to which all the mourners came, "my lade of Wynchesster, as chief mourner, leading the way, with my Lord Admiral and my Lord Darcy on each side of her."

The tomb, which is on the site of an old tomb, prob-

ably an abbot's, is attributed to one Theodore Havens, an artist from Anne's native place—Cleves—and is one of the earliest examples in England of skull-and-cross-bone decoration. It was intended to have a canopy, with which some progress seems to have been made as late as the reign of James I., but it was never completed. The marble covering was in 1820 removed to the high altar, where it still forms the slab of the communion table. The hearse was left, according to custom, some weeks in the church, and Machyn chronicles that when it was taken down it was discovered that the monks had despoiled it in the night of all the velvet cloth, coats of arms, banners, and even the gold fringe of the valance, "the which was never seen afore so done." As a matter of fact, the trappings of the hearse were taken by order of the abbot, lest the heralds should claim them. The heralds complained of the loss of their perquisites, but the abbot and sexton appeared before the council and showed grants proving the right of their body to the hearses. Sentence was ultimately given against the heralds. In April, 1568, a certificate was obtained from Feckenham, who was then a prisoner, to prove that the church had the furniture and hearses at the funerals of Anne of Cleves and Queen Mary. This paper was used by the dean and chapter to support their claim to the hearse of Lady Knowles, but this time the judgment was given against them, and the Duke of Norfolk ruled that the heralds were in future to have all the hearses. His decision was, however, protested against by the chapter, and was the seed of many disputes with the College of Arms.

A debate on the abolition of sanctuaries took place in Parliament in February, 1558. No sanctuaries, except churches and churchyards, remained since the laws enacted by Henry VIII. ; but as the sanctuary at Westminster had been restored by Mary to all its ancient rights, the Speaker sent for the abbot, "with his counsel learned in the law," to show what legal claim he had to the privilege. "Accordingly, on Saturday, the 11th of February, came the abbot, accompanied with no counsel learned, but only with one monk attending on him, bearing two old muniments—the one whereof was the charter of sanc-

tuary granted to the House of Westminster by King Edward* the Saint ; the other, a confirmation of the same charter, with a censure by curse upon the breaches thereof, made at request of the said Saint Edward by the Pope John, at a general synod by him assembled for that purpose." Feckenham said that the time—he had only received his summons the day before—had been too short to allow of his getting legal advice, and asked for another day for that purpose ; but in the meantime he made an eloquent oration before the House, pleading for the maintenance of the sanctuary, and tracing its origin to remote antiquity. As an argument for its continuance, he alleges the special sanctity of the church. "We have here the most precious relic in this realm, next unto the divine relics of faith, the most holy sacrament and sacramental. I mean the body of that most holy King, St. Edward, remaineth there among us—which body, by the favour of Almighty God so preserved during the time of our late schism, that though the heretics had power upon that wherein the body was enclosed (the shrine), yet on that sacred body they had no power ; but I have found it, and since my coming I have restored it to its ancient sepulture. We have there the bodies of divers others, the best kings of this realm. Westminster is the ordinary place of coronation, of consecration, and burial of kings ; and so for the worthiness and reverence of the place itself, if any ought to have sanctuary, Westminster above all others is most worthily to be preferred." Further on he speaks of the great people who have had benefit of sanctuary, Elizabeth Woodville and her children being the royalties referred to in the "queens, princes, dukes, earls, barons, knights, and all sorts" who "have been preserved by sanctuary." Feckenham adds the astounding statement that were the merciful reign of Philip and Mary to continue for ever, no sanctuary would be needed. "Talking with an old acquaintance of mine, an officer in the Tower of London, he told me there was in the Tower never a prisoner but one Frenchman, a rare example of gentle and merciful government."

After his long speech, the abbot was sent into an outer

* The sanctuary was not really founded till the canonisation of Edward.

room while the House deliberated on its reply, and finally the Speaker told him to return the following Tuesday with a counsel. Feckenham's reply gives some idea of the state of ruin in which he had found all the monastic archives. He begs the House, if he had no other documents to show, "they would not thereby take advantage, but impute it to the iniquity of the times wherein they were perished, declaring how, as by miracle, those were preserved, being found by a servant of my Lord Cardinal's (Pole) in a child's hand, playing with them in the street." It is sad to think now how many priceless manuscripts must have been tossed aside by reckless hands, and lost in the mire of those ancient lanes and fields about the Abbey. Westminster kept the rights of sanctuary, but the privilege was only to be for a short while longer.

Mary's days were already numbered, and misfortunes were clouding the end of her reign. Her husband had practically deserted her; her hopes of an heir had long been given up. Calais, the key to the English possessions in France, had been lost in January; and now, the Queen shut herself up in the gloomy palace of St. James to brood upon her losses, where the cries of her Protestant subjects at the stake or on the scaffold did not reach her ears. Fervent in her piety, conscientious according to her lights, Mary was more to be pitied than blamed as she gradually grew weaker and weaker in her loneliness, till the end came on the 17th of November, 1558.

On the 12th of December the body of the unfortunate and miserable sovereign was brought in a chariot from St. James's, "with," as that indefatigable diarist, Machyn, records: "the pycter of emages lyke (her, *i.e.* the wax effigy) adorned with cremesun velvett, and her crowne on her hed, her septer in her hand, and mony goodly rynges on her fyngers." Then follows an elaborate description of the order of the procession, given, however, in fuller detail in an MS. in the College of Arms, whence some particulars about the hearse are extracted. Machyn says that four bishops and the abbot, mitred in copes, met the coffin at the west door. The other account names only three bishops—Winchester, London, and Worcester. The coffin was borne by twelve gentle-

men to the hearse, which stood under the lantern, and the effigy was carried after it "by men of worshype." The hearse was described as very sumptuous; a thousand wax-lights burned upon and around it. It was decorated with the Queen's badges and coats of arms in gold and silver, also escutcheons of metal and wax; little figures in wax of angels, mourners and queens adorned the niches, as on the tombs of Edmund Crouchback and Aymer de Valence, which resemble the form of the ancient hearses. Under the canopy was "a great Majestie of Taffata, lined with bokeram (buckram), and in the same was maid a great dome of Paynter's worke, with foure evangelists of fyne gold." Wide fringes of gold ornamented the black taffeta valence, and round about this magnificent hearse went a railing, also hung with black; within it was a small temporary altar. "So she lay all nyght under the herse, and her grace was wachyd" (Machyn). The mourners, meantime, all went to dine with the abbot, and the next morning the requiem was sung, the mourners having previously given offerings, as was customary. Lord Sheffield rode into the Abbey up the nave, as far as the choir door, where he alighted, and was led up to the altar by two noblemen. There he offered his "pollaxe," and was then unarmed in the vestry. After a sermon by White, Bishop of Winchester, the coffin was carried up to Henry VII.'s Chapel, and there laid in the vault prepared for it on the north side. Unlike her predecessors, the Queen lay without a monument till James I. erected the present tomb as a memorial to her sister Elizabeth.

While the ceremonies round the grave proceeded, the people plucked the black hangings down from the walls, "evere man a pesse (piece) that cold caycth (catch) round a-bowt the cherche, and the armes" (coats of arms). This is interpreted by the historians of each party in different ways, the Catholics attributing it to the desire of a mourning people to save relics of the saintly dead; the Protestants to the spirit of boisterous joy called up by the advent of a new and popular sovereign, and the death of a hated persecutor.

After the burial, the Archbishop of York declared a "colasym" (collation), and all the ecclesiastics and

mourners again trooped into the abbot's house, and enjoyed monastic hospitality in his great dining-hall. In Mary's vault is still lying a box, covered with crimson silk and black velvet, once garnished with gold lace, in which is enclosed her heart wrapped in red sarcenet—the heart upon which, she said to Mistress Rice, her waiting-maid, the loss of Calais was inscribed. The cost of the box and its garnishments, including half a yard of black velvet, at twenty-one shillings a yard, is noted down in the Lord Chamberlain's books, and amounted to £1 5s. 9d. There are also various items connected with the Queen's funeral effigy, of which, however, there is no further record nor remains, and it is probable that it was afterwards broken up in an excess of Protestant zeal.

Feckenham's great oration on the death of Mary (in the Cottonian MSS., Vesp. xviii. 92) was preached the same day, probably at evensong, in the gloom of a winter twilight, with the newly-made grave close at hand. He brings in the text used by Bishop White: "Better is the live dog than the dead lion," and comments at length upon it, without, however, referring to the latter's discourse.

The sermon is filled not only with the abbot's personal grief for the Queen's loss, but with forebodings for the future. The words* of his text: "I can commend the state of the dead above the state of the living, but happier than any of them both is he that was never born," show the bitterness of his heart. He warns his auditors that the wolves are even now coming out of "Geneva and other places in Germany," and "have sent their books before;" but, as he approaches the principal theme of his eloquent sermon, the death of the queen, who was a benefactress to himself and to his convent, he warms to the subject, and forgets his anathemas in the eulogy on this "innocent and unspotted Queen, whose body lieth there in your lap; whose livery is on your back; whose memory is, or ought to be, perpetuated in your hearts; whose fame is spread throughout the world; whose praises the stones will speak if we do not; whose soul, I verily believe—without prejudice of God's judgment, be it spoken—is

* See Eccles, iv., 2, 3. The above is Feckenham's own rendering.

now in heaven, ... being too good to live any longer amung us. She was a king's daughter ; she was a king's sister ; she was a queen, and, by the same title, a king also ; she was a sister to her, that by the like title and right is both king and queen at this present of this realm. . . . In this church she married herself unto this realm, and in token of faithful fidelity did put a ring with a diamond upon her finger, which I understand she never put off after during her life."

He speaks of Mary's end as if he had been present, which, as her confessor and friend, was no doubt the case ; and tells how, on receiving extreme unction, " the strength of her body and use of her tongue being taken away, yet, nevertheless, she, at the instant, lifted up her eyes," and, after the Benediction of the Church, " bowed down her head, and withal yielded a mild and glorious spirit into the hand of her Maker. If angels were mortal, I would liken her departing to the death of an angel (rather) than of a mortal creature."

Fuller's remarks on these two funeral sermons are very amusing. He speaks with great scorn of White, who, in spite of the literal application of his text, made Elizabeth the dog and Mary the lion ; " indeed, he strawed all the flowers of his rhetorique on Queen Mary, deceased, leaving not so much as the stalkes to scatter on her surviving sister . . . . More modest and moderate was the sermon of Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster . . . who preached also the obsequies of Queen Mary—either that he did it as an act of supererogation, or because it was conceived the more state for so great a prince to have a duplicate of such solemnities. The best is, the Protestants of that age cared not how many (so it be funeral) sermons were preached for her."

A month later, December 24th, the last royal funeral service according to the Roman rites was held in the Abbey—a dirge and requiem ordered by Elizabeth upon the death of her sister's father-in-law, Charles V.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LAST ABBOT AND THE NEW CHAPTER.

FECKENHAM is said to have interceded for Elizabeth's freedom, when that princess was confined in the Tower by Mary, and the new queen showed some favour to him at first, and would doubtless have continued him at Westminster as dean after her new foundation, had he not shown a strength of character equal to the Tudor obstinacy, and fought at every turn for the old faith. Soon after her accession, Fuller says that Elizabeth sent for the abbot, who was found by her messenger "setting of elms in the orchard of Westminster Abbey"—*i.e.* in what is now the northern part of Dean's Yard,* which long bore the name given it before Feckenham's time of "The Elms."

"But he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his Plantation, which his friends impute to his soul employed in mystical meditations, that as the trees he there set should spring and sprout after his decease, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish in defiance of all opposition, which is but a bold conjecture of others at his thoughts. Sure I am those monks long since are extirpated, but how his trees thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the Queen, what discourse passed between them they themselves knew alone. Some have confidently guessed she proffered him the Archbishopric of Canterbury on condition he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refused." Heylyn tells the story about the elms with reference to a later period, when the Bill for the dissolution of the monasteries was passed, and "the Lord Abbot being then busied in planting some young elms in the Dean's Yard there, one that came by

* Dean's Yard was not formed as it is at present till after 1753.

RECOVERY OF THE MONASTIC ARCHIVES.
(*See p.* 168.)

LORD SHEFFIELD AT QUEEN MARY'S FUNERAL.
(*See p.* 169.)

advised him to desist from his purpose, telling him that the Bill was just then passed for dissolving his monastery. To which the good old man replied that he resolved howsoever to go on with his work, being well assured that that church would be always kept for an encouragement and seat of learning." There is more point in the last anecdote, and certainly no man, however little of a courtier, would have been likely to keep Elizabeth waiting his leisure.

With the New Year of 1559 the first changes were made in the ritual, when, on the 1st of January, a Sunday, "the Letanie was read in English, with epistles and gospels, in all churches of London as it was formerly in her Grace's own Chappel" (Fuller). The coronation was fixed for a Sunday, January 15th—a day chosen as one of good augury by William Dee, Elizabeth's astrologer, and kept as an anniversary long afterwards at the Abbey. The day before, the new Queen rode in procession from the Tower, according to the usual custom, "through the middle of the city to Westminster with incredible applause (which, by her sweet countenance and gracious speech, she increased above measure), where the next day, after the rites of her forefathers, she is inaugurate and anointed by Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlyle, for that the Archbishop of Yorke and the rest of the bishops refused to performe that office out of a suspicious and jealous feare of the Romish religion" (Camden).

The Coronation service was slightly altered, the innovations being that the Litany was read in English, and the Gospel and Epistle both in Latin and English. Dean Stanley chronicles the report that the oil used for the anointing was "grease, and smelt ill," and that Oglethorpe was said to have died of remorse for his lapse from the rubric ; but these rumours were doubtless invented by the Catholics after the event. There was the usual dinner in Westminster Hall, and the whole ceremony in the Abbey proceeded with the usual rites so smoothly that the onlookers could not have surmised the tempestuous feelings which must have stirred Feckenham's heart as he, the last abbot destined to assist in a coronation, helped in the anointing of the first Protestant Queen.

On the 25th of January Elizabeth opened her first Parliament, after hearing high mass in the Abbey and a sermon from the some-time Dean of Westminster—Cox—who had now returned from exile. Feckenham took the lowest place on the bench of bishops in the House of Lords, the only mitred abbot there, and, true to his principles, he consistently opposed the numerous bills brought in for the re-establishment of the reformed religion. There is a long oration of his, preserved in the Cottonian MSS. and wrongly ascribed by Burnet to Heath, delivered "in the best manner he could" at the second reading (April 26th) against the bill for the uniformity of common prayer. His speech is an elaborate argument for the old religion, dwelling much on the favourable contrast in the behaviour of the people under the old *régime* as compared with the licence caused by the new Protestantism. "There was no plundering of churches, and most blasphemous treading down the holy sacrament under their feet, and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place thereof." There was no hacking and hewing of the crucifix in those days, no open flesh-eating in Lent; but all the people, especially the nobility and the Lords of the Council, "knew their way unto churches and chapels, there beginning their day's work with calling for help and grace by humble prayer and serving of God." "All things," he cries in the bitterness of his heart, "are changed and turned upside down, notwithstanding the Queen's Highness' proclamations most godly made to the contrary, and her most virtuous example of living."

The Westminster monastery for a time remained as before, though this Parliament gave all the other religious houses lately erected by her sister to Elizabeth; but, an ominous sign of approaching changes, the Queen had dispensed with the ceremonious usage by which the abbot and monks had been wont to assemble at the door of the Houses at the opening of Parliament to meet their Sovereign. Feckenham's last public utterance was his speech in the House of Lords.

On the 31st of March a public dispute between the chief supporters of the two religions—eight a side—was held at Westminster, in which the late Bishop of West-

minster (Thirleby) took part; but, as it was utterly impossible to get disputants with such opposite views to speak with any show of real argument in these burning times, the conference came to an abrupt end, and Feckenham, summoned by Bacon to take up the discussion, refused to speak. The abbot's tenure was drawing to a close. In spite of his unimpeachable character, his piety, his good offices to the Protestants in Mary's days, it was impossible to ignore his steady opposition to the reformed faith. On the 12th of July, 1559, the monastery was once more dissolved, the abbot, who persistently refused to take the oath of supremacy, was sent to the Tower, and the monks scattered abroad: one called Richard Bulkeley was alive as late as 1609.

Feckenham survived for over twenty-five years —years spent in captivity, partly in the Tower and the Marshalsea, partly as a guest in bishops' houses. Throughout his captivity he was continually harassed by vain attempts to shake his faith. "The matter itself is grounded here," pointing to his breast: "*that* shall never go out," he would say, in answer to the repeated and tedious theological arguments which he had to encounter. Even as late as 1578, when he was living with Cox, Bishop of Ely, who had been his predecessor at Westminster, the Queen desired the Bishop to use his endeavour to bring the abbot, being a man "of learning and temper, to acknowledge her supremacy and to come to the Church." Poor Feckenham was therefore subjected to more conferences. Cox summoned others, Horn, Dean of Ely, being the principal, to his aid, and at first courteously entertained his guest at his table, but at last, finding him "too obdurate," he got into a pet with him, allowed Horn to insult him at meals, and confined him to his own rooms, much to his prisoner's just indignation. Finally, this "bad priest and good-for-nothing" (according to the opinion of his opponents) was sent to end his days in Wisbech Castle, Norfolk, where he died at a great age, five years later.

Fuller's comments on his death are very apt. He calls him a "landmark" in the history of the church, "his personall experience being a chronicle, who, like the axil-

tree, stood firme and fixed in his own judgement, whilst the times, like the wheels, turned backwards and forwards round about him." He tells also of his generosity, even in his fallen fortunes, to the poor at Holborn, where he resided for a time when a prisoner. He built a fountain and a cross at Wisbech, "and relieved the poor wheresoever he came. So that *Flies* flock not thicker about spilt honey than beggars constantly crowded about him." In the British Museum* is a "book of sovereign medicines against the most common and known diseases both of men and women," compiled by Feckenham during his captivity "by good proof and long experience . . . chiefly for the poor, which hath not at all times the learned physicians at hand."

For nine months after the second and final dissolution of the monastery there was neither dean nor abbot, and the only public ceremony which took place in the Abbey was the funeral of the Queen's cousin, Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk (December 5th, 1559). The deceased lady, daughter of Mary Tudor (Elizabeth's aunt), by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, had married Henry Grey, the Marquis of Dorset, who was afterwards, in right of his wife, made Duke of Suffolk. As the parents of Lady Jane, both were imprisoned by Mary, and while the weak duke lost his head, Lady Frances was only deprived of her liberty for a time. On her release, she demeaned herself in the eyes of her relatives by wedding her Master of the Horse, Adrian Stokes—a gentleman, but considerably below her in rank, a fact, however, which, owing to Elizabeth's constant fear of finding a rival to the crown in one of her cousins, pleased the Queen, and did not detract from Frances Grey's claim to a royal burial. So the royal ensigns were borne at her funeral and afterwards placed above her grave in St. Edmund's Chapel. The Communion Service was read in English, probably for the first time since the Queen's accession, and Bishop Jewel preached a eulogistic funeral sermon.

Three years later Adrian Stokes raised a fine alabaster tomb over his wife's remains. Henceforth throughout

* Sloane MSS. 3919.

ABBOT FECKENHAM PLANTING THE ELMS IN DEAN'S YARD.
(*See* **p.** 172.)

FECKENHAM INSULTED BY BISHOP HORN

(*See p.* 175.)

the reigns of Elizabeth, and, in a less degree, of James I., the courtiers and court ladies found sepulchre in these side chapels, till, in every instance, the remains—if any had been left by the Protestants—of the altars were hidden, and large tombs concealed the wall arcading.

CHAPTER XX.

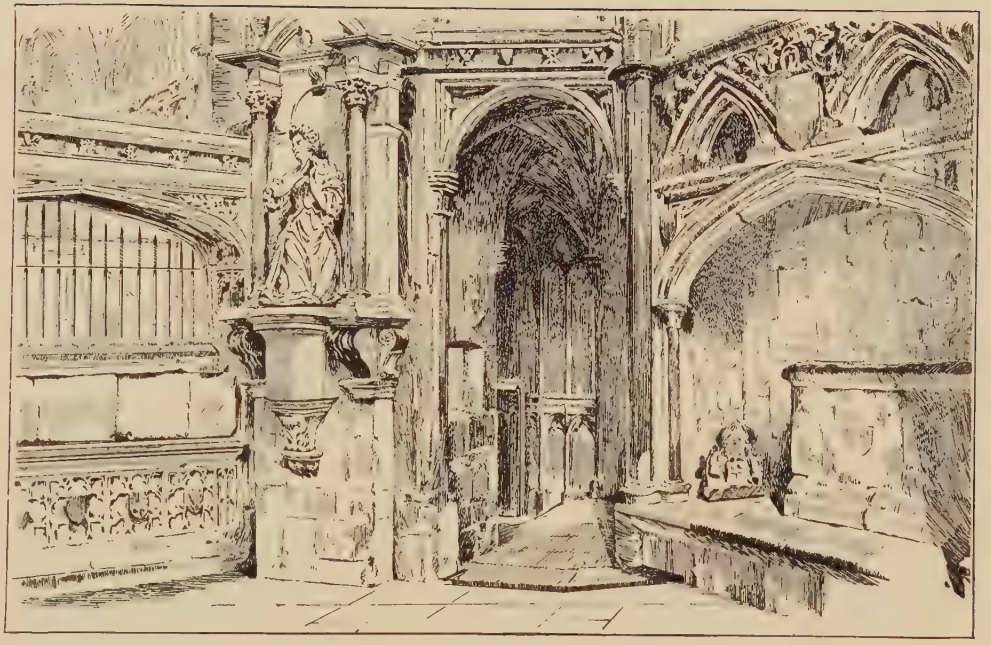
WESTMINSTER A COLLEGIATE CHURCH AGAIN.

THE 12th of May, 1560, is the date of the charter by which Elizabeth refounded the chapter, with a few minor differences, as it had been constituted by her father. The new collegiate body was solemnly given possession of the Abbey Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Dean of St. Paul's. William Bill, Provost of Eton and Master of Trinity, Cambridge, was installed dean on the 30th of June.

Bill's Protestant views were strongly marked : he took part in the revision of the Liturgy and Prayer-book, and established once and for all the English service at the Abbey. The altars in the Chapel of Henry VII. were pulled down in April, 1561, and the stones from them heaped above Queen Mary's grave. Some of the altars in the side chapels of the apse were there as late as 1567, when John Hardyman, prebendary, was deprived for destroying them without authority. Bill was unmarried, and did not hold his office long, for he died a year after his appointment ; but he managed to find time, during this short period, to draw up the first draft of the collegiate statutes. He lies in St. Benedict's Chapel beneath a brass, upon which, besides his effigy and the usual record of his name and appointments, is a Latin epitaph extolling his learning and charity. From his connection with Eton he would naturally have taken interest in the re-establishment of Westminster School, and, in his will, he leaves some plate to it and some furniture for the scholars' beds—a very necessary and useful bequest in those early days, when the boys must have had but rough quarters in the old monastic buildings.

Bill's successor, Gabriel Goodman, is the first dean who held office long enough to leave a mark. He was

QUEEN ELIZABETH RIDING IN STATE TO WESTMINSTER
AUGUST 12TH, 1563.
(*See p.* 173.)



ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

dean throughout most (1561-1601) of the long reign of Elizabeth, and was very active in superintending the affairs both of the chapter and of the school. The personal friend of Elizabeth, he knew how to keep her favour all his life, and to obtain from her whatever privileges he desired for her new foundation. Born at Ruthin, Goodman was the first Welsh dean, and, like Bill, was a Cambridge man. In his youth he was domestic chaplain to Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), and afterwards remained on such intimate terms with him that "the Puritans of the time, who loved neither Cecil, nor Goodman, were wont, we are told, to call the Treasurer the Dean of Westminster, because, they observed, that dean was so much with him, and acted, they thought, so much by his instructions."

Goodman was one of the first prebendaries here, and received the deanery three months after Bill's death (September 21st, 1561). Under him the organisation of the new services was finally carried out, the hours being probably very much the same as before, and the monks' early habit of rising was kept up for a long time by their successors the prebendaries. At six a.m. there was early service, prayers, with a lecture added on Wednesdays and Fridays, in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The daily musical services lasted from nine to eleven every morning, from eight to eleven on Sundays, and from four to five in the afternoons. There was Communion on the festivals and the first Sunday in the month. The sermons to be preached by the dean, according to the new statutes and still kept up, were on the following feasts—Christmas, Easter, Whit Sunday, All Saints, and the Purification. Such copes as Feckenham had collected for himself and his new monks were cut up and used for canopies, while the hangings from the choir were given to the school in 1566, and some are now in the Jerusalem Chamber. A guide was, for the first time, appointed to show the monuments, and the antiquary, Camden, while a master here, "diverted himself amongst the ancient monuments," and wrote in Latin the earliest guide-book to the tombs.

The monks' dormitory had been divided up in Henry VIII.'s time, and now it was ordered to be repaired and

furnished for collegiate purposes, "upon contribution of such godly and well-disposed persons as have and will contribute thereunto." The smaller or northern portion was devoted to the library. This library, such of it as had survived the vicissitudes to which we have referred before, was removed from its old place, which was inconveniently small, to this part of the dormitory, called "the great room, before the old Dorter," in 1591, where it is still kept.

In May, 1587, Goodman had appointed a keeper for the books, "who shall have a care to keep and leve order and dispose and safelie performe the same, and for his paynes there employed shall have yearlie twenty shillings." New books were bought with the proceeds of the sale of the "candlesticks and such superstitions."

In Goodman's days, and until the middle of the next century, the dean and chapter dined with the school boys in the "College Hall," once the abbot's dining-room, where so many splendid entertainments after coronations and funerals had been given in past years. At the "high" table on the daïs sat the dean and canons, while below were placed the minor canons, and the officials belonging to the chapter with the scholars: if all the canons happened to be absent, the headmaster of the school was bound to be present. It was the custom under Elizabeth and long afterwards, for the dean to have some of the scholars to board with him at the Deanery, and to take a personal interest in their scholarship, often coaching them in their classics.

Such was the patriarchal system under which the chapter and school lived in the days of good Queen Bess, before monastic traditions had been lost sight of. Elizabeth's known dislike to the marriage of bishops extended to deans, and Goodman would certainly have risked her favour had he brought a wife to the Deanery.

On January 12th, 1563, the day of the opening of her second parliament, Elizabeth rode in great state to Westminster, "accompanied with all her lords, spiritual and temporal. The Queen was clad in a crimson velvet robe, and the Earl of Northumberland (or Worcester), bearing the sword before her, all the heralds of arms in their rich

coats and trumpets blowing. The bishops were twenty-two in number (Llandaff and Carlisle wanting), riding in their robes of scarlet lined, and hoods down to their backs of miniver. She lighted at our Lady of Grace's Chappel and with her noble and stately retinue went in at the north door into the Abbey, where she heard a sermon preached by Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and then, a psalm being sung, she and her honourable company went out at the south door, and so to the Parliament chamber."

The Upper House of Convocation was sitting in Henry VII.'s Chapel at this time, instead of in the Chapter House; and here, on January 29th, the Thirty-nine Articles were signed. The Lower House probably began about now to hold their sittings in that part of the North Transept called the Chapels of St. John, St. Michael and St. Andrew, which was fitted up with seats for them. The screens between the three chapels were removed, but the accommodation must have been very restricted, especially after the chapels were blocked up by large monuments. In 1621 Fuller speaks of the Lower House as: "Sitting among the tombs, as once one of their Prolocutors said of them, *viva cadavera inter mortuos*, as having no motion or activity allowed them." The Jerusalem Chamber was also used by Convocation, and the "Baptistery," which was called the Consistory Court.

In the course of the year 1563 Feckenham looked his last on the old monastery over which he had ruled. He was placed in the custody of Goodman at the Deanery for a few weeks, and gave over to the chapter "certain ecclesiastical vestments and clothing" which he had either concealed or taken away with him to the Tower. From the old abbot no doubt Goodman asked help when, three years later, he, too, had to defend the rights of sanctuary in Parliament, and he used much the same arguments as his predecessor. In 1566 a bill to take away sanctuaries for debt was brought into the House of Commons, and the chapter petitioned against it. On October 16th the dean was present at the bar supported by two counsel—one a competent lawyer, Plowden, the other a civilian, Ford by name. "The dean himself made an oration in defence of the Sanctuary, and alledged divers grants by King Lucius

and other Christian kings, and Mr. Plowden alledged the grant for sanctuary there by King Edward, five hundred years ago, viz. *Dat.* in *an.* 1066, with great reasons in law and chronicle, and Mr. Ford alledged divers stories and laws for the same, and thereupon the Bill was committed to the Master of the Rolls and others (not named) to peruse the grants and to verify the force of the law now for sanctuaries."*

A stronger argument used was that the privileges of sanctuary had caused the houses to let well, and that they had therefore been rated high under Henry VIII. The bill was thrown out on its third reading (December 4th). More restrictions, however, were added under Elizabeth, and finally in the twenty-first year of James I., by which time the Sanctuary had become a scandal and a nuisance, the old rights were taken away. Dean Stanley has well described the place as a vast Cave of Adullam, where all the bad characters of the neighbourhood took refuge ; in old days those of higher rank had even pitched their tents, with guards watching round them, outside the north door of the Abbey, the criminals ready to dart into the church if necessary. In Maitland's " London " it is described as " not only an asylum for bankrupts, but likewise a refuge for traitors, murderers, thieves, and most abandoned miscreants, who were suffered to live in impunity, and open defiance of justice, to the great reproach of the pretended Confessor." Such was the reputation of this nest of criminals, one of the approaches to which was appropriately called " Thieving Lane."

Some of the Sanctuary buildings remained standing long after the suppression of the sanctuary rights. The old entrance gate, leading into King Street, was only removed in the early eighteenth century. The gate house between the Sanctuary and Dean's Yard, where debtors and state criminals were imprisoned, was pulled down in 1776, partly, no doubt, on account of Dr. Johnson's complaints of it as " a disgrace to the present magnificence of the capital, and a continual nuisance to neighbours and passengers."

On the site of the old Sessions House near the hospital,

* D'Ewes Journal, p. 124,

where a new building has now replaced the eighteenth-century one, stood till 1750 a curious survival of monastic times popularly known as the Sanctuary, but more probably it was the remains of the belfry tower. One stone was found with 1323 upon it, but if the belfry, it was again rebuilt or repaired later (about 1347) by Edward III. There is a note in a manuscript book of Dean Vincent's about this land. A committee appointed by parliament in 1803 bought the ground, says the dean, "where was formerly the bell tower, then the wool staple, and latterly the Westminster market." The remainder of the Sanctuary site was leased out by the dean and chapter till Dean Stanley's time, when all their landed property was taken by the Ecclesiastical Commission in return for a fixed annual income.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MONUMENTS OF STATESMEN, SOLDIERS, AND COURT LADIES UNDER ELIZABETH.

BURIALS in the Abbey were now becoming more and more frequent, and the chapels were gradually filling up with the tombs of Elizabeth's court. The earliest mural tablets are in St. Edmund's Chapel, to two court ladies—Jane Seymour, a girl of nineteen, daughter of the Protector Somerset, and Lady Catherine Knollys, Elizabeth's own cousin. Jane Seymour was concerned in the romantic and, as it turned out, disastrous engagement of her brother Edward, Earl of Hertford, to her intimate friend, Catherine Grey, Lady Frances's daughter, also a maid-of-honour. Jane connived at their secret marriage, and was their only confidante, and, had not her death taken place before the stolen match was discovered, she would have shared in the young couple's disgrace. As it was, Elizabeth, unconscious as yet of the intrigue in which her maid-of-honour had been concerned, gave her a grand funeral. Her brother Edward placed the tablet over her grave.

Their mother, the Duchess of Somerset, who died at the advanced age of ninety in April, 1587, was buried with all honour, in spite of her husband's execution and attainder, in the adjoining chapel of St. Nicholas. Sir John Hayward calls her "A mannish or rather a devilish woman, for any imperfectibilities intolerable, but for pride monstrous, exceeding subtle and violent." A costly tomb with an alabaster effigy, was raised over her grave, where an elaborate Latin inscription (Englished by Dart) tells us that: "her son in this doleful Duty Careful and Diligent doth consecrate this Monument to his dead Parent." This was not till twenty-six years after Jane's death, by which time Edward had suffered all the hardships attend-

ant on his marriage to Catherine Grey, and had lost his persecuted first wife.

For a second wife the Earl chose the sister of Lord Howard of Effingham, the High Admiral who won his laurels in the defeat of the Armada, and on her premature death in 1598, Hertford once more repeated the "doleful duty" of "consecrating a monument" in the Abbey (St. Benedict's Chapel).

Lady Catherine Knollys, who was buried with much pomp in St. Edmund's Chapel, owed the Queen's favour to her connection with Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, upon whose scaffold she had been present. She died "in the flower of her age" in 1568, much regretted by her husband, Sir Francis Knollys, Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer, who erected the mural tablet with a Latin epitaph, composed for him by some poetaster, in which the bereaved husband is assured that as he had loved his wife living, so he could not forget her dead.

Catherine's brother, the great Lord Hunsdon, lies in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, where he was buried twenty-eight years after his sister's death (1596); above his grave is a large and costly monument, the highest in the Abbey, put up by his son. Of Hunsdon, who smarted under the ingratitude of the royal mistress to whose defence all the best years of his life were given, a characteristic anecdote is told by Fuller. He had long desired the earldom of Wiltshire, and "when he lay on his death-bed the queen gave him a gracious visit, causing his patent for the said earldom to be drawn, his robes to be made, and both to be laid down upon his bed, but this lord (who could dissemble neither well or sick): 'Madam,' said he, 'seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying.'"

Another royal lady, a first cousin to the queen, found sepulchre here in Goodman's time. This was Margaret, Countess of Lennox (daughter of Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII.'s sister), who, a princess by descent and doubly royal by her union with the kingly house of Stuart, yet died obscurely at Hackney (March 9th, 1578) in great poverty. By no fault of her own, but by the accident of

her royal birth, Margaret suffered many things during her long life. Thrice, she told Camden herself, was she cast into the Tower, "not for any crime of treason, but for love matters;" the first time for a rash engagement of her own to the Duke of Norfolk's son; the second time when her elder son Darnley married Mary Queen of Scots; and thirdly for the seemingly harmless marriage of her younger son Charles to Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of Bess of Hardwick. The offspring of this last union, Arabella Stuart, was also destined to suffer in her own person for her royal descent, long after her grandmother had been laid to rest.

The Queen, whose storm of anger against the old countess had evaporated by the time she died, defrayed the expenses of the funeral, and caused her to be laid in the south aisle of the royal chapel of Henry VII., where a beautiful altar tomb was afterwards raised over her vault. Round the verge kneel her eight children, none of whom survived her. Darnley kneels first of all, turned to the tomb of the wife who coldly permitted his murder, his figure marked by a broken crown, and Arabella's consumptive father, Charles, who had been buried below two years before Margaret's death, is behind him. The burials here were now very frequent, but there seems as yet always to have been a claim of some kind either of birth or office. An exception to this is the plain Anne Birkhead, who was, as a centenarian (died 1598, aged 102) and one who had therefore survived four sovereigns, allowed to lie in the cloisters under the following quaint lines:

"An auncient age of many yeeres
Here liued Anne thou hast
Pale death hath fixed his fatal force
Upon thy corps at last."

The tombs of this time all record the name of some illustrious person: amongst them are various officials of Elizabeth's court. Pecksall, Master of the Buckhounds, who inherited his post from his mother, heiress of the Brocas family, is in St. Edmund's Chapel (1571). William Thynne* (1584), an aged knight who had been receiver

* Ancestor of the Marquis of Bath.

of the Marshes under Henry VIII., and lived through four reigns, is in the South Ambulatory. Sir Thomas Bromley (1587), Lord Keeper, and Sir John Puckering (1596), Sir Christopher Hatton's successor as Keeper of the Great Seal, and twice Speaker of the House of Commons, both of whom were concerned in the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, lie in St. Paul's Chapel, beneath elaborate monuments. In that chapel is another Duchess of Somerset (died, 1589), Frances Sidney, wife of Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and aunt to Sir Philip Sidney, whose tomb takes the place of the ancient altar. Lady Sussex was one of the most notable women at court, and, as her epitaph records, "adorned with many and most rare gifts, both of mynde and bodye, towards God truly and zealously religious, to her friends and kinsfoulke most liberal, to the poore prisoners, to the ministers of the worde of God alwais most charitable." She was liberal to learning, and is still held in grateful remembrance at Cambridge as the founder of Sidney-Sussex (Clare) College. A personal friend of the dean's, who was the overseer of her will and took part in the inauguration of the college, she was a true lover of the Abbey Church. Here she wished her body to lie, and a tomb was prepared for it by her orders, of which, probably, Rudolph Symors, the architect of her college, had a hand in the design. She left directions, in the event of the tomb not being finished during her lifetime, for "£200 or more" to be spent "for making it, with her picture in alabaster stone and other garnishing, with a superscription thereon telling her name and pedigree." Another proof of her attachment to the Abbey and to her friend the dean is the annuity of £20 "to the use of a godly and learned preacher," who was to read two divinity lectures "every week for ever on such days in the week as no other sermons were preached there." The purport of these sermons was, apparently, a constant glorification of her own virtues, and reminds one of the efforts of abbots and monks to keep their memory green by anniversary services.

In St. Nicholas's Chapel another noble lady was buried in 1586, whose claim to a memorial here rests for

posterity in the talents of one child and the charity of the other. This was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Brydges, Lieutenant of the Tower at the time of Lady Jane Grey's execution. By her first marriage with Sir Richard Sackville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, she had a son, the poet Lord Buckhurst, author of a "Mirror for Magistrates," and a daughter Anne, Lady Dacre, to whose beneficence Westminster owed the Emmanuel Hospital, an almshouse and school for poor women and children, which was pulled down in 1891. By her second marriage, Winifred became Marchioness of Winchester. Her second husband was that sturdy old man John Paulet, over whose head the storms, due to the changes during the reigns of the first four Tudor sovereigns, passed without abating a jot of his favour at court. His answer to the wonder expressed at this astonishing phenomenon is often quoted:

> "I am a willow, not an oak,
> I chide, but never hurt with stroke."

That is, he knew how to manage the imperious Tudors, fearlessly blaming his Sovereign with tactful tongue, yet ready to bend before the royal wrath, and like the willow wand spring up again unbroken.

While the monuments to all these notabilities were in progress, another distinguished foreign guest, the Prince of Würtemberg, visited the Abbey. The duke's secretary has left a short account of this visit, translated from the German in Rye's "England as Seen by Foreigners": "On the 14th of August (1592) his Highness and suite went in wherries to the beautiful and large royal church called Westminster, situated at the end outside the city, in order to inspect the same. It is a very large structure, and, in particular, has a chapel within it which was built eighty years ago by King Henry VII., arched over with carved stone so elegantly wrought that its equal is not easily to be found; there are inside some beautiful tombs of deceased kings and queens covered all over with gilding, and executed in a most beautiful manner. In front of this chapel outside in the choir are many other monuments of kings, made of marble of all kinds of curious

colours, amongst others is a tomb or shrine with the following inscriptions around it :—

> 'Omnibus insignis virtutum laudibus Heros
> Sanctus Eduardus Confessor rex venerandus
> Quinto die Jan moriens, 1065.
> Super æthera scandit sursum corda.'*

"And upon another elevated monument :—

'Segberti Regis Orientalium Sayoni (Saxonum) fundatoris hujus Ecclesiæ.'

"In this choir stands also the chair in which for several centuries past all the kings and queens have been crowned, underneath lies a large stone, which is said to be the very one upon which the patriarch Jacob reposed when he saw the angels ascending and descending a ladder reaching to heaven. In the same choir was also shown the sword which King Edward III. is said to have carried and used in battle and war. It is an immense blade, like a double-handed sword, so heavy that one can scarcely lift it, and upon it is a wolf of copper, like as upon the old Wolffsklingen, together with the four letters I. N. R. I. In this beautiful church the English ministers, who are dressed in white surplices such as the Papists wear, sang alternately and the organ played."

It was in December, 1591, that Camden, Clarencieux King-at-Arms, and in that capacity necessarily present at all the great funerals, had a lease of "a little tenement in the close for the term of his natural life." In 1575 his connection with Westminster had begun through the influence of his friend Dean Goodman, who had got him the second mastership in Westminster School, and Goodman seems to have helped him in his great work the "Britannia," to which the dean prefixed some Latin verses (1586). In 1593 he was made headmaster, a post he only cared to hold a few years ; but he continued, after his resignation, to live and work at Westminster. It was, perhaps, owing to his researches amongst the tombs,

* The order of the words in this transcription of Feckenham's inscription on the Confessor is not quite correct, as the secretary probably trusted to his memory.

for the book on the "Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles et Alii" who had found sepulchre here (published in 1600), that the chapter felt ashamed of the disgraceful state into which many of the ancient monuments had fallen from neglect, and appointed a keeper to look after them (1591).

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S VISIT TO LORD HUNSDON

[illegible]

SIR JOHN DE BURGH KNIGHTED BY HENRI IV
(*See p.* 194.)

CHAPTER XXII.

THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Lord Burghley took an active part in abbey affairs. He could date his connection with the place from the days of Edward VI., when he lived in the precincts for a time. He was also High Steward of the new Corporation of Westminster, and no doubt sat in his official place in the "great pew," under the portrait of Richard II., from time to time at the abbey services.

Many of Burghley's relations were buried in the Abbey, and it is strange that he himself is only commemorated here by the little figure kneeling above the tomb of his second wife and daughter in the chapel of St. Nicholas. In three successive years the poor old man lost mother, daughter, and wife, "dearer to him beyond the whole race of womankind." His daughter, Anne Vere, the wretched wife of Edward, Earl of Oxford, died at Greenwich of a fever in 1588, and, before another year had passed, her mother was laid in the same grave. Upon their monument is a very long Latin inscription, written by Burghley himself. Even the indefatigable Dart quailed before the task of "Englishing" the whole, but, instead, gives the substance of it in some of his usual quaintly turned phrases. "It is," he says, "as if the image of Burghley itself explains the monument," the "venerable, grey-headed old man," in robes of state kneeling above, speaks to the spectator. He tells us that his long-loved wife, Mildred (one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke), lived with him forty-three years, and shared in all his "good and bad fortune in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth now reigning. She was a benefactor to several colleges in both universities. She gave a scholarship in St. John's College, Oxford, and

took particular care at her death of the poor of Rumford, where she was born (Gyddy Hall), and Chesthunt (Theobalds, afterwards bought by James I.), where she lived, by leaving money and food for them, to be distributed every first Sunday in the month for ever to widows and orphans at Chesthunt frequenting the church, and in both places left money to poor tradesmen to be given every other year. She died the 4th of April, 1589, aged sixty-three, in Burghley House at Westminster." The figure of Anne, who, "after an excellent conduct of life, dyed, and was by me and my wife here buried," lies by that of her mother, and at her head are kneeling her own three surviving daughters. Burghley's only other daughter, "who came to years," Elizabeth, had been baptised in the Abbey by Dean Goodman in 1564, the Queen standing sponsor; she married Lord Wentworth in 1582, and both died soon after. There were three Elizabeth Cecils alive at the same time, two of whom died in the same year, 1591, and were buried in this chapel. One was Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Cobham, the first wife of Burghley's famous son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury and his father's successor in office, whose figure kneels in prayer at the feet of his mother and sister. He buried her close to the family tomb, and seems to have emulated his father's grief in the epitaph, which is a Latin dialogue between husband and wife, each extolling the other's virtues.

" . . . Her virtues rare waun her much esteeminge
In courte with soveraigne still with Favoure grasste,
Earth could not yielde more pleasing earthye Blisse,
Blessed with two babes, the thirde broughte her to this."

The third Elizabeth Cecil, commonly called Lady Ross, was the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland, and bequeathed the title of Lord Ross to her infant son, whose new rank was proclaimed in the Abbey directly after his mother's funeral (May 19th, 1591). Her husband, William Cecil, was heir-apparent to Thomas, Lord Burghley and first Earl of Exeter, Burghley's son by his first wife. This earl, who survived his stepmother and his daughter-in-law over thirty years (he died in 1622, aged eighty),

and succeeded to his father's titles in 1598, lies in a large Jacobean altar tomb in the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

When old Lord Burghley died (August 4th, 1598), a grand funeral service was held in the Abbey, the church which he loved beyond all others, while on the same day (August 29th) his body was buried amongst his ancestors at Stamford. The following account is taken from Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa": "I suppose, therefore, it was only an empty coffin, carried in great pomp with a solemn procession of heralds, gentlemen, and noblemen to Westminster Abbey, where the said coffin was set in the midst of the choir, under a hearse adorned with scutcheons, penons, and other ornaments, and there stood six days, attended by heralds and other mourners; at the end of which six days, a solemn service, with the music of the Queen's Chapel (in the manner of a funeral), was there performed for the deceased, whose body (being some few days before conveyed privately to Stamford) was there put into the vault on the same day the said funeral was more pompously set forth at Westminster."

The Queen continued to take an active interest in the Abbey. We find Henry Noel, one of her gentlemen pensioners, was buried in St. Andrew's Chapel (1597) by her particular desire, for his "gentile address and skill in musick"; the fine tomb in the south aisle of the choir to Francis Bacon's friend, Thomas Owen, Justice of the Common Pleas, bears a motto given to him by Elizabeth, "*Memorare novissima,*" "in allusion to his humble origin," says Dean Stanley. One of her best naval officers, Sir Richard Bingham, died the same year (1598) as Owen, and has a tablet in the same aisle. He was much employed in Ireland, and his inscription records that "he overthrew the Irish Scots, expelled the Traytor Orourke, suppressed dyvers Rebellions, and that with smale charge to her Ma^tie^." It was perhaps owing to the latter fact, so agreeable to the Queen's parsimonious habits, that he owed the honour of a memorial in the Abbey.

In St. Andrew's Chapel is a tablet to Sir John de Burgh, a descendant of the great Lord Chief Justice and Earl of Kent, Hubert de Burgh, so renowned in the days of Henry III. Sir John was twice knighted on the field

of battle, the second time by the French King, Henri IV. "But being too forward in boarding a Spanish ship, richly laden with gold and other precious commodities, unfortunately lost his life" in March, 1595, aged only thirty-two.

On the day of the opening of parliament the Queen was fond of coming with much state to the Abbey, according to the custom of her predecessors. There is a description printed by Nicholls from an old MS. of her reception on one of these occasions—13th October, 1597. It was the day of the Confessor's translation, when kings and queens had in former times been wont to lay offerings before the saint's shrine, but now the traditional reverence for St. Edward had given way to the homage due to the Tudor Sovereign, the head of Church and State. The Queen was received at the north door, and before the decorated porch, which had protected the triple doorway since the days of Richard II., was "A fourme with carpets and cushions to be laid where her Majesty is to kneele, and to receyve a scepter of gould having the image of a dove on the toppe and to pronounce a praier. The Dean of the said churche is to delyver the said scepter, and to shewe the said praier." From the north transept the Queen went in procession down the north aisle to the west door, and then up the centre of the nave to the communion table. The Te Deum and Litany were sung, followed by a sermon from Goodman, and afterwards the procession returned, the choir singing as they went, down the church to the south-east door, where the Queen gave up the "golden staffe," St. Edward's sceptre, the same held by Richard II. when he sat crowned in St. Edward's chair and held festival on St. Edward's Day, as in his portrait.

One by one the lights of Elizabeth's court were going out. Lord Burghley and Sir Philip Sidney had already gone, and now in the last year of the century the star of that Prince of Poets, Edmund Spenser, set in clouds and gloom (he died January 16th, 1599). For though the statement is untrue that the darling poet of the day died "for lacke of bread"—a story first fabricated by his friend Jonson over his cups, and repeated over and over

again by other poets—yet the end of his life cannot have been happy. He had arrived from Ireland only three weeks before his death, probably with his mortal illness upon him, leaving a burnt and deserted homestead behind him, and memories of the cruelties of that last Irish campaign to haunt his dying bed. Camden says he died "poor" in Westminster, and that the ill-fated favourite Essex, then enjoying his last brief spell of royal favour, paid the expenses of the funeral, which was attended by all the nobles and the poets of the time. Beaumont (afterwards—1616—buried near by) and his fellow-dramatist, Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and perhaps Shakespeare himself, were amongst the assembled poets, who threw "their elegies and the pens wherewith they were written" into the vault, which has never been opened since. As the lovelock of a cavalier tied up with its faded knot of blue ribbon was seen not many years ago in another vault, these more precious relics may yet exist beneath the stones. There was no memorial of Spenser for twenty-one years. True, the Queen, faithful in thought if not in act to her old friend, had ordered a monument at her own expense; but the money was intercepted by some official, and she was probably too immersed in her own increasing troubles to inquire about it. That generous patroness of literature, Ann, Countess of Dorset, repaired the omission in 1620 by the erection of a Purbeck marble tablet, for which she paid Nicholas Stone £40. Over a century later the poet Mason, Gray's friend, shocked at the condition of the old monument, got up a subscription, and the present tablet (a copy of the old one) was placed above the grave (1778). The dates of the poet's birth and death upon it are incorrect, and should be 1552 and 1599.

Goodman's long rule was now very near an end, and while he lay a-dying (June, 1601) the funeral of a daughter of his friend the learned Countess Russell, who died of rapid consumption, passed the Deanery, and must have cut the old man to the heart. Elizabeth Russell had been born within the precincts in lodgings provided by the dean for her mother "within the late dissolved abbey," which, shut off as it was at that time from the rest of

Westminster by the gate house, was considered a place of refuge from the plague, then (1575) raging in London. Elizabeth's christening (October 27th) was royal in its magnificence. The Queen, who was one of her godmothers, was represented by the Countess of Warwick, her godfather was no less a person than the court favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the other godmother was that Countess of Sidney-Sussex, of whose death we have already spoken. The godmothers were both too high in rank to hold the infant at the font, a duty which was performed by Lady Bacon, while Goodman officiated at the ceremony. Nine years later the dean had taken part in the funeral of Elizabeth's father, John, Lord Russell, to whose memory the widowed countess erected a large monument in St. Nicholas's Chapel, upon which an inscription in three languages displays her learning. She, Lady Burghley, and Lady Bacon were daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, governor to Edward VI., a trio whom Fuller extols as "most eminent scholars, the honour of their own and the shame of our sex." The statue of young Elizabeth, which was the first in the Abbey to sit erect, is close to her father's tomb, and was put up by her sister Anne, at whose wedding to Lord Herbert Bess had danced gaily only a fortnight before.

Before the erection of this statue the old dean had passed away. He "set out for his heavenly country," the words of his epitaph tell us, on the 17th of June, 1601, aged 73, deeply mourned by the Queen and by his many friends. His features are portrayed in the kneeling figure on the monument above his grave in St. Benedict's Chapel.

At Ruthin, his birthplace, Goodman founded (1590) a school, Christ's Hospital, where Dean Williams was afterwards educated. His interest in Westminster School was very great, and Camden, the head-master, was his intimate friend. There was no proper sanatorium for the boys, who in cases of illness used to be placed in a house in Dean's Yard, or sent to Wheathampstead, near St. Albans, under the charge of a prebendary, who received twenty pence a week for his expenses. In one visitation of the plague the whole school was removed to Putney. In the

DEAN ANDREWES AND HIS PUPILS.
(*See p.* 199.)

LYING-IN-STATE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(*See p.* 200.)

autumn of 1569 the boys had to be sent home for nearly three months on account of the plague, and in the following year Dean Goodman provided a pest-house or sanatorium at Chiswick. Goodman had some new buildings adjoining the Manor House erected, where one of the prebendaries, the head and second masters of the school, and forty boys with servants could be taken in during times of sickness, "or at other seasons when the Dean and Chapter should think proper." Part of the grounds were to be reserved as a "play-place" for the boys. Goodman himself would often retire to this country house, taking a few boys with him, and his example was followed by many of his successors. Here he planted a row of elms in imitation of Feckenham, and the "great height and beauty" of these trees is mentioned over a century later.

In 1657 Dr. Busby and his scholars were at Chiswick, and one of the hardships complained of by the fanatic Bagshawe in his dispute with the head-master, was the removal from Chiswick to Westminster in the most hot and sickly time of year. Later on (1770) the house was let to Mr. Robert Berry, and here his two celebrated daughters, both authoresses, entertained their friends, among them Horace Walpole. Upon the walls in their day the names of Montague, Earl of Halifax, Addison's friend; of John Dryden, and other celebrated old Westminsters, were still to be seen. The house was pulled down in 1870, part of it having been used as a printing office before that.

In 1571, while Goodman was dean, the famous little Chapel of St. Catherine, where so many disputations had been held in monastic days, was pulled down; some arches still remain standing in the garden of one of the Canon's houses in the Little Cloisters.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A NEW DEAN AND A NEW SOVEREIGN.

The new dean, Lancelot Andrewes, was a distinguished man and a great favourite with the Queen. He had won her favour by his eloquent sermons, and kept it to the end of her life, although he showed his independence by refusing two bishoprics, from conscientious scruples about the alienation of the episcopal revenues. Born in London in 1555, Andrewes had been educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, and afterwards obtained a scholarship and fellowship at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. While at the University, he became renowned for his skill in casuistry, a talent which he afterwards made use of when chaplain to the Earl of Huntingdon in the north, and won much approval by his success in converting priests and recusants. His learning moved Francis, Lord Walsingham, to get him a royal chaplaincy, and his advancement was thenceforth secured by his silver tongue. A canonry at St. Paul's, and the mastership of his old college (a post which he retained till 1605), were followed by a canonry at Westminster, and, on Goodman's death, the Queen promoted him to the Deanery: he was installed July 4th, 1601.

Never was Elizabeth's discrimination better shown than by her choice of Andrewes for this post. He was not a mere preacher, nor was he only a student, but a man of such weight and influence that people would come to consult him "in the nicest and most difficult cases of conscience," and even the senseless levity of James I. and his court was restrained by awe in the dean's presence. When he became too old to preach, he considered his duties to the court ceased, and he refused to go there again. A man of learning and the master of fifteen languages, Andrewes won the following eulogy from

Fuller :—" The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was, so skilled in all (especially Oriental) languages that some conceive he might (if then living) almost have served as interpreter general at the confusion of tongues."

The Dean's golden rule was never to be interrupted before dinner (midday in his time), and it was one of his axioms that "a man could be no true scholar who came to see him before noon." With a personal leaning towards the High Church ritual, Andrewes was so tolerant and large-minded that both parties united in his praise. Clarendon extols him on the one hand, while Milton, then a youth of seventeen, wrote an elegy on his death.

In the school Andrewes took a special and personal interest. Long after his death Hacket, in his Life of Williams, incidentally gives a vivid picture of this side of the great scholar's life when at Westminster. As a Westminster boy, Hacket had benefited by the dean's teaching, and says, "how strict that excellent man was to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors ; that he did often supply the place both of the Head School Master and Usher for the space of an whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night. How he caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him to examine our style and proficiency. That he never walked to Cheswick (where was the sanatorium) for his recreation without a brace of this young fry . . . and, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight to eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue and the elements of the Hebrew grammar, and all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction, nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us." This is high praise, but from other evidence Andrewes deservedly takes a high place amongst the deans who were benefactors to the school. On Bishop Duppa's monument the fact that he learnt Hebrew from Dean Andrewes is recorded.

The long reign of Elizabeth came to an end on the 24th of March, 1603, and never in the memory of those living had there been such a tumultuous scene of mourning as at her funeral—a contrast to the solemn silence at Mary's.

Contrary to Elizabeth's own wishes the body was embalmed; it was then wrapped in lead and carried in a barge from Richmond down the river to Whitehall Palace, where it remained, watched in turns by six of the Court ladies, for four weeks. James could not be present, so Arabella Stuart, the Queen's other nearest relative, was asked to be chief mourner, but the young lady, who had been out of favour with Elizabeth for some time, refused now her tyrant was dead "to be brought upon the stage as a public spectacle."

At last all the preparations were concluded, and, on the 28th of April, the remains of the great Queen, covered over with purple velvet, were brought to the Abbey upon a funeral chariot drawn by four horses, "wrapt in blacke velvet," and followed by a train of 1,600 mourners. The contemporary drawings—said to have been done by Camden, who as Clarencieux King-at-Arms walked in the procession—in the British Museum show the lines of mourning chariots, the Earl of Pembroke, assisted by Lord Howard of Effingham, bearing the great banner of England, and the twelve nobles, six on each side of the coffin, with the arms of the House of York on bannerols. Stowe has described the scenes of mourning in the streets of Westminster, streets so narrow that the neighbours could shake hands across them out of the upper windows. Now the "Cittie of Westminster was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people, in their streetes, houses, windows, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequie, and when they beheld her statue or picture lying uppon the coffin, set forth in Royall robes, having a crowne uppon the head thereof, and a ball and scepter in either hand, there was such a generall sighing, groning, and weeping as the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man, neyther doth any historie mention any people, time, or date to make like lamentation for the death of their souveraygne."

Into the vault, where Mary's coffin and the box with her poor shrivelled heart had lain undisturbed for forty-six years, the body of her greater sister was lowered, while the courtiers stood round in their sables, their hearts full, no doubt, of personal hopes and fears in the change of dynasty. Amongst them was Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of the Guard, so soon to fall from the sunshine of Court favour to which he had been accustomed in the late queen's days, he and his men keeping guard over their dead mistress with halberds lowered. The dean officiated, and, as was usually the custom, a bishop—Watson of Chichester—preached the funeral sermon.

The effigy, with its royal robes and all the insignia of royalty, remained with those of the other kings and queens till the eighteenth century, and fell, like the rest, into a most disreputable state, an old ruff being all that was left of its splendour in 1708. Before this Dart had alluded to it as entirely stripped, the body being of stuff, the head of wood—coated, it is presumed, with wax. In the bi-centenary year (1760) of Elizabeth's foundation of the chapter and school, the gentlemen of the choir subscribed to make a new effigy, which, with its tawdry robes, is still to be seen above the Islip Chapel. The face is a copy of the old effigy or of that on the monument, from a mask of the queen's features after death.

The broken altar stones, piled so long upon the grave of the unfortunate Mary, were now removed, and James was obliged, by the force of public opinion rather than from his own inclination, to have a suitable tomb erected in honour of his predecessor. The monument is the work of Maximilian Poutrain (alias Coult) and John de Critz; Nicholas Hilliard, the celebrated miniature painter, shared in its decoration. Hilliard writes to Lord Salisbury in 1606 asking the minister to appoint "a time to see the tomb of our late Sovereign. I desire that I may be there to show you my opinion in some things that may yet be done; but I hope you will like it very well. I requested to have the trimming of the said tomb because, as a goldsmith, I understand how to set forth and garnish a piece of stone-work. Not with much gilding to hide the beauty of the stone, but where it may grace the same,

and no more. And having skill to make more radiant colours like unto aniells (enamels) than yet is to painters known, I would have taught someone which would not have made it common, thinking the work had been of your lordship's cost, because of your calling me to take care of it."

Cecil seems, in fact, to have superintended the erection of the tomb, and provided money from the Exchequer. He says, in 1609, three years after the completion: "Rather than fail in payment for Queen Elizabeth's tomb, neither the Exchequer nor London shall have a penny left;" the cost, without including the stone, seems to have been about £865. Copies of the monument were temporarily put up in other churches—St. Saviour's, Southwark, amongst others. Fuller speaks of "the lively draught of it pictured in every London and in most country churches, every parish being proud of the shade of her tomb, and no wonder, when each loyal subject created a mournful monument for her in his heart."

The reign of James began by an exercise of apparent economy which did not make him popular with his new subjects, who were accustomed to the magnificent pageants of the late Queen's days. This was the necessary omission—on account of the plague—of the public procession from the Tower. "By reason of God's visitation for our sinnes the Plague and Pestilence there reigning in the Citty of London and Suburbs (the Pageants and other Showes of Triumph in most sumptuous manner prepared but not finished), the King rode not from the Tower through the Citty in Royal manner as had beene accustomed, neither were citizens permitted to come at Westminster, but forbidden by proclamation for feare of infection to be by that means increased." The day of the ceremony was fixed for that of James's patron saint—Monday the 25th of July; and on that morning the new king and queen walked from Westminster Palace to the Abbey, Anne with her hair "downe hanginge."

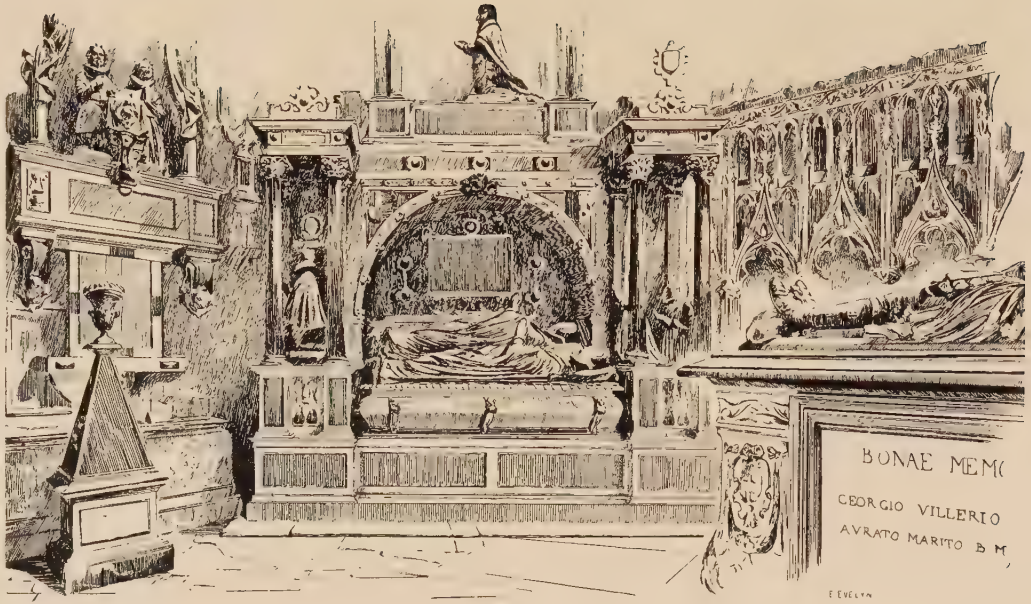
This was the first coronation performed according to the rites of the Anglican Church; the Queen refused the sacrament on the plea that she had already changed her religion once (the Lutheran for the Presbyterian), her

secret leaning to the Roman Church being probably her real motive. Archbishop Whitgift officiated, and Bishop Bilson preached, the presence of Sir Robert Lee, Lord Mayor, "in a gowne of crimson velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in robes of scarlet, twelve principall Citizens" to attend on them, being especially noticed by Howes, the chronicler.

The last years of Andrewes' time and the first of the new reign were uneventful enough, and when in 1605 he was promoted to the Bishopric of Chichester he was succeeded by a Westminster man, a favourite of the late dean's. This was Richard Neile, the son of a tallow chandler, though said to be of good family, and born (1562) in King Street, Westminster. He was educated at the school here, and the head-master, Dr. Grant, would have had him apprenticed to a bookseller, but his condition "as a poor fatherless child yet of good hope to be learned," moved the kindly heart of old Dean Goodman, who recommended him as a worthy object of charity to his friend Lady Burghley. With ready sympathy for the boy's eager desire for knowledge, Lady Burghley sent him to St. John's College, Cambridge, and he was afterwards taken into the Cecil family as domestic chaplain. After the death of his patroness and of the old Lord, Robert Cecil continued to befriend him, and through his influence Neile preached before James and was made a Clerk of the Closet. The new courtier soon saw where the road to advancement lay and joined the High Church party, thereby "losing the love of some of the courtiers who were too visibly inclined to the Puritan," yet he gained the favour of his master, by whom he was preferred to the Deanery of Westminster, his promotion being brought about by the continued favour of his old friend Cecil, now Lord Salisbury. He was installed here the 5th of November, 1605, and during the five years of his rule he threw himself heart and soul into the business affairs of the chapter, and drew up a careful account, attested by seven of the canons, of his stewardship at the end of his time. The paper is preserved in the Abbey archives, and the improvements are arranged under the several heads of "building," "repairs," "increase of

revenue," the "furniture of the church," the "bettering" —*i.e.* the collection and re-arrangement, of the charters and of the registers; and finally even the dean's works of charity and hospitality are recorded, also his own account of his birth and education. Widmore says truly that—"There is hardly anything relating to the history of the place except it be that the tomb of Anne of Cleve, neglected and left unfinished by the Crown and by her executors for fifty years, was covered by a black marble stone, and railed in at the Church's expense; and that Mr. Camden presented the chapter with a basin and ewer weighing 105 ounces."

A Westminster boy himself, Neile was a great benefactor to his old school. He tells us that, "Myself have yearly sent out of this school (besides those six that have been elected whom I have gotten placed in other colleges besides Trinity College and Christ's Church), some years two and some years three (scholars), and with some charge to me, which I have carefully done in thankful remembrance of God's goodness showed to me in my being preferred from this school to St. John's College, Cambridge, by the honourable bounty of my foundress and patroness the Lady Mildred Burghley." He in his turn befriended a Westminster boy, young George Herbert, of whom it is said that even at school "the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed marked out for piety and to have the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him."



THE BURLEIGH MONUMENTS.

TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

PHOTOGRAPH BY YORK & SON, NOTTING HILL, W

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROYAL EFFIGIES AND ROYAL BURIALS.

Sightseers to the Abbey were now becoming more numerous, and Henry Peacham in some doggerel verses on the sights of England early in the seventeenth century, speaks of the "more vulgar" who think themselves happy when they may see the Westminster monuments, including "the sword of the valiant Edward," for the sum of one penny—equivalent to about sixpence nowadays. It was the fashion for foreigners to go round the tombs, and a German traveller (about 1610) mentions that "a printed book of the monuments is sold by the verger," and adds: "the poor are fed here every Sunday while the sermon is being delivered; the food is laid out on an oblong wooden table." One of the "curiosities was the stone on which Abraham (*sic*) rested."

The professor of poetry at Frankfort, Valentin Arithmeus, who wrote a Latin work on the monuments at St. Paul's and Westminster (published 1618; King James's copy is in the British Museum), says that when he went to the Abbey a verger offered him a guide book, but, "after the manner of his nation, eaten up with avarice, he demanded a great price."

Royal guests, too, were amongst the occasional visitors. Thus on the 1st of August, 1606, Prince Henry brought King Christian of Denmark "with others of both nations" into the Abbey, where they went up to Henry VII.'s Chapel, and there beheld the monuments. The tomb of the late queen had just been finished, and was no doubt commented on and admired by the royal party. "Against whose comming the image of Queen Elizabeth, and certaine other images of former Kings and Queens were newly beautified, amended, and adorned with Royall vestures, but he (the Danish King) tooke most

notice of St. Edward's shrine, and therewithall admired the whole architecture and fabrication" (Howes' Chronicle).

The "images" are the effigies which, as we have seen, had been carried at the royal funerals, and since then seem to have been much neglected and were in need of new wardrobes, provided no doubt by the care of the energetic dean. When seven years later, soon after the death of the young prince, who acted cicerone on this occasion, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar visited the Abbey, he gives a list of the effigies in his journal: "Queen Elizabeth in a red velvet gown with sceptre and crown; Henry VII. and his Queen; Henry V., also with his Queen, who came from France; Edward III. and his Queen, a German and a very little person; the lately deceased Prince of Wales in a long velvet dress lined with ermine, over a red habit which he had when he was ill, and with a long gilded staff in his hand." Later on, Dryden mentions these figures "all a-row" in open presses, when James I. and his Queen had increased their number, and Edward I. and Eleanor are added to the above names. Dart, early in the eighteenth century, speaks of them all as sadly mangled, and accuses the cupidity of the "late rebels;" but the state of ruin into which everything inside and outside the Abbey had fallen after years of neglect, is quite enough to account for the condition of the figures. Edward III., "with a large robe of crimson velvet, but now appears like leather," is mentioned, and the same figure with scraps of the robe clinging to it can still be identified. By Walpole's day they were called the "Ragged Regiment"—a name which has clung to them ever since. Horace speaks of the face of Elizabeth of York as still perfect, and was evidently in the habit of taking parties to see them, for when the verger was at a loss to identify them, he would say, "If Mr. Walpole were here he could tell them every one."

While Neile was dean, two large new monuments to private persons were erected in the Abbey, both being memorials of the wars of Elizabeth. The first is that of the Norris family in St. Andrew's Chapel, a name which carries one back to the days of Anne Boleyn, when Sir

Henry Norris died upon the scaffold, protesting the wretched queen's innocence to the last, at some risk of perjuring himself. Elizabeth, ever anxious to show favour to her mother's friends, beheld his son "not only with gracious but grateful eyes;" she made him a baron, and since his wife Margaret, daughter of Lord Williams of Thame, had befriended her when in Lord Williams's custody, the queen kept up her intimacy with her. Their six sons kneel round the altar tomb where lie their parents' recumbent effigies. Four died in battle; the death of another, Sir John, is said to have been accelerated by bitterness of spirit, when he was removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and his death went "so near the heart of the lord his ancient father, that he died soon (1601) after." The survivor, Edward, is the only one who looks cheerfully upward. The monument was put up afterwards by their relatives, as an "honourable remembrance of their noble actes, true valour and high worth," and is a good example of the art of the Jacobean period.

Sir Francis Vere, a famous general in his day, who died of old age in his bed in 1609 after many a hard-fought campaign, lies under a beautiful tomb in the chapel of St. John, on the way to the Norris monument. It is an imitation of the tomb of Engelbrecht II., Count of Nassau, at Breda. It was before the figure of one of the knights who support the slab, that Roubiliac was found standing speechless, waiting for the parted alabaster lips to open. "Hush, hush! he vill speak presently," the sculptor cried impatiently when Gayfere, the abbey mason, interrupted his reverie.

The old tradition of royal burials in the abbey still continued, and in 1606 and 1607, the bodies of two little daughters of James I. were laid amongst their kindred in the chapel of Henry VII. The first to die, Sophia, called after her grandmother the Queen of Denmark, whose name was bequeathed to the Electress, lived only two days (22nd to 23rd of June, 1606), but was buried with some pomp. Maximilian Poutrain, who now called himself Coult, and was the King's master sculptor, had just finished his work on Elizabeth's monument, and con-

tracted to make a tomb for Sophia for £140. The result is the quaint little cradle with the wizened baby, "wherewith," says old Fuller, "vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, are more affected (as level to their cognisance, more capable of what is pretty than of what is pompous), than with all the magnificent monuments in Westminster."

The other small rosebud, Princess Mary, died eighteen months after her baby sister of "a burning fever." The King took her death philosophically, "as a wise prince should doe," and having expended much money on Sophia's obsequies, had the little coffin carried to the Deanery entrance in a coach, "without any solemnity or funeral," on September 23rd, 1607. Thence it was borne to the grave prepared for it behind Elizabeth's monument, and close to the infant sister's cradle, where Poutrain's tomb with its stiff effigy resembling a fine court lady of the period, rather than a child of two and a half, commemorates her brief life.

In 1608, for the first time, a dean of Westminster was allowed to hold a bishopric with his deanery: a precedent afterwards allowed, when the deans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also Bishops of Rochester. Rochester was the bishopric now given to Neile, and two years later (December 6th, 1610), he resigned his deanery on receiving the see of Durham, ultimately rising to the Archbishopric of York. A great friend of Laud's, and "a wise and wary man," ever ready to flatter the king, he rose to a higher post than his far more learned predecessor, Andrewes. An amusing anecdote is told by Waller which well points out the difference between these two deans of Westminster. After the dissolution of James's last parliament, Waller went to court and found Andrewes, then Bishop of Winchester, and Neile, Bishop of Durham, standing behind the king's chair as he sat at dinner. In the course of a conversation on the subsidies, James asked Neile, "'My lord, cannot I take my subjects' money without all this formality in Parliament?' 'God forbid, sir!' replied the obsequious prelate, 'but you should: you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the King turned, and said to the Bishop of Win-

chester, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir,' replied Andrewes, 'I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The King answered, 'No put offs, my lord; answer me presently.' 'Then, sir,' said he, 'I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it.' Mr. Waller said the company were pleased with this reply, and the wit of it seemed to affect the King."

Neile's successor at the Abbey, George Montaigne, or Mountain, was also born of poor parents. His father was a small farmer near Cawood, Yorkshire, according to one story, while another authority makes him the son of a Lincolnshire beggar-woman; but the first is no doubt the correct version. Like Neile, Montaigne's Cambridge education was due to charity, and, like Neile, he owed his rise, in the first instance to his patrons, afterwards to his own talents and determined ambition to be Archbishop of York—a see which he reached before Neile, though a younger man. His courage recalls the personality of Abbot Litlington, who prepared in his old age to defend the sea coast from a French invasion, for, as chaplain to Robert, Earl of Essex, the new dean had seen some hard fighting in his youth, and Fuller says of him that he was "one of such personal valour that out of his gowne he would turn his back to no man." By his ready wit, Montaigne won the favour of the king, who made him dean here on December 10th, 1610. During his seven years at Westminster, Montaigne does not seem to have taken any practical part in the affairs of the chapter: his heart was elsewhere, for he hoped to be elected Master of his old College—St. John's, Cambridge, and when disappointed of that, set a bishopric before him as his next step.

Various important funerals took place in Montaigne's time. After the completion of Elizabeth's tomb, James, filled more with a sense of poetical justice than with filial devotion, determined that "the like honour might be done to the body of his dearest mother, and the like monument be extant of her that had been done to others, and to his dear sister the late Queen Elizabeth." He got over his natural turn for economy in this instance, and determined

to make the Scotch queen's tomb a more magnificent one than that which, in deference to the pressure put on him by public opinion, he had commissioned Salisbury to have constructed for her rival. In April, 1606, Cornelius Cure, Master Mason of the Works, began Mary's tomb, which was continued by his son, William, after his death in 1609. In 1611 a pattern for the tomb to cost £2,000 is spoken of as ready to submit to the king. In 1612, by which time the monument was partly finished, James had his mother's body exhumed at Peterborough Cathedral, and the late Dean Neile, now Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was sent to bring it to the Abbey, where the coffin was privately interred in the vault beneath the new tomb by night, on the 11th of October, 1612. The original warrant, signed by the king's hand, for the removal of the body, hangs against the wall close by it : it is dated September 28th from Hampton Court, and authorises Neile to take charge of the Queen's remains. The pall, which had covered the hearse in Peterborough Cathedral, was to be wrapped round the coffin, and compensation was to be given to the cathedral authorities for it, as it was looked on as a perquisite.

Several more years were to pass before the monument was quite completed. In 1613 William Cure received £85 10s. in "full payment" of the £825 10s. promised to his father, Cornelius, "for making the tomb for his Majesty's dearest mother." On May 24th, 1616, a painter, one James Mauncy, received £265 in full satisfaction of the charges of painting and gilding of a monument "*to be erected*," showing that the tomb was not put in its place above the vault till about ten years after it was begun. The whole cost amounted to over £1,000. Just two months after the burial of Mary's remains another royal coffin was laid in the vault. On the 8th of November, after a painful illness, which bewildered his physicians and gave rise to sinister but unfounded rumours of poison, died Prince Henry Frederick, the hope of the Puritan party and the friend of Sir Walter Raleigh.

The body lay in state at St. James's Palace, where he died, for a month. The day before the funeral "his representation was brought (made in so short warning as

like him as could be) and apparelled with cloathes, having his creation robes above the same, his cap and crowne upon his head, his garter collar with a George about his neck, his golden staffe in his right hand lying cross a little —briefly, everything as he was apparelled at the time of his creation. Which being done, it was laid on the back on the coffin, and fast bound to the same, the head thereof being supported by two cushions just as it was to be drawne along the streets in the funeral chariot with eight black horses, decked with his severall scutcheons and plumes."

"The funerall being foure houres in marshalling and marching, set forth about tenne a clock in the morning (of Monday, December 7th), there being (as was thought) the number of 2,000 mourners in black. . . . As it passed along, the whole world, sensible and insensible things and creatures, seemed to mourn and have compassion—heaven and earth and all; there was to be seene an innumerable multitude of all sorts of ages and degrees of men and women and children, whose wonderful sorrow who is able to expresse? Some holding down their heads, not being able to endure so sorrowful a sight, some weeping, crying, howling, wringing of their hands, others halfe dead swooning, sighing inwardly, others holding up their hands, passionately bewayling so great a losse, with rivers, nay with an ocean of teares. Well on they came at last to Westminster Abbey, the buriall place, where, after the doleful musick of all sorts being ended, the coffin was set under a great stately herse, built quadrangle-wise with eight pillars. . . . After which the whole assembly, having taken their places . . . after an universall silence, the Archbishop of Canterbury (who was appointed to do his highnesse the last duty) was seene in the pulpit, who, with a grave, sober countenance, shewing the inward sorrow of his heart, after a little pause and prayer, did with exceeding passion make the funerall sermon. . . . The archbishop's sermon being ended, the Earles, Lords, Barons, etc., by this time having offered up their severall banners and honours which they carryed, as also the great officers of his house . . . . having all by degrees broken their white staves and rods

cross-wise over the coffin, thereby resigning their places, the assembly dissolved. This coffin, with the representation, remaining under the herse to be seene of all till the 19th of the said moneth of December, when decked and trimmed with cloathes, as he went when he was alive—robes, collar, crowne, golden roddes in his hand, etc.—it was set up in a chamber of the said chappell at Westminster, amongst the representations of the kings and queens, his famous predecessors, where it remaineth ever to be seene."* Here the Duke of Saxe-Weimar had seen the effigy intact, but a few years later (1616) the robes were stolen and the figure stripped.

Three years later the body of an unfortunate state prisoner, Arabella Stuart, who owed all the misfortunes of her life to her kinship with the blood royal, was privately interred at midnight in the same vault. Her broken coffin rests upon that of her aunt, the Queen of Scots, by the side of her second cousin and friend, Prince Henry. No name marked the place of Arabella's interment till the 19th century, and her obscure funeral gave rise to rumours of poison, which were, however, quite unfounded, for the Lady Arbell, forgotten by all but a few near relatives, had long ceased to be a danger to the King. But the air at this time was full of cries of "poison." The mysterious death of Sir Thomas Overbury was agitating king and courtiers, and attempts were even made to accuse those implicated in his murder with poisoning the late Prince of Wales.

About three weeks after Arabella's funeral, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, arrested for suspected complicity in the poisoning of Overbury, was lodged in the Deanery under Montaigne's care till his removal to the Tower a fortnight later (November 2nd). With his guilt or innocence we are not here concerned ; suffice it to say that he and his wicked countess, though formally acquitted, never regained their position at court, and "languished out their old age in infamy and obscurity."

While one of the blood royal was thus privately buried, a Scotchman—Sir John Grimes, known only as a favourite of the unpopular Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, re-

* The above details are from Sir Charles Cornwallis's Life.

ceived a grand funeral in the Abbey the following spring (April 9th, 1616) by his patron's commands. But although there was much laxity about the claims of those who found sepulchre here, this undeserved honour roused much indignation at Westminster, and the same day a butcher of King Street buried a dog in Tothill Fields, in open ridicule of the ceremony at the Abbey, "for," quoth he, "the soul of a dog is as good as that of a Scot."

CHAPTER XXV.

PRISONERS OF STATE AND ROYAL FUNERALS.

When Montaigne vacated the deanery in 1617 for the bishopric of Lincoln, he was succeeded by another Queen's College man, Robert Tounson, a native of Cambridge, and Chaplain to the King. He was installed on the 16th of December, but was dean only two and a half years, as in 1620 he became Bishop of Salisbury. Though he, like Montaigne, had no lasting connection with the Abbey, he was brought here to be buried, not a year after (May, 1621) his promotion to the bishopric, and lies near the door of St. Edmund's Chapel without a gravestone. Tounson brought a wife and a large family to the deanery—an innovation on the bachelor deans, his immediate predecessors: Cox had been the only married dean hitherto.

The year after Tounson's installation, a distinguished prisoner, Sir Walter Raleigh, was brought to the Gate-house Prison. This Gate-house, destroyed in the eighteenth century, dated from the time of Edward III., and was a small, two-storeyed building, built, according to Stow, by Walter de Warfield, the cellarer of the abbey, at the west of the sanctuary, leading into what is now called Tothill Street. The office of keeper of the Gate-house was an honourable one, in the gift of the dean and chapter.

Dean Stanley gives some amusing anecdotes about one Maurice Pickering, who was appointed to this post about 1557, and was a person of some note in Westminster. He got into trouble on one occasion, when the prison was full of recusants, by complaining that he feared his prisoners, whose friends were very poor, would starve, "as I have no allowance for them." He was severely reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor, before whom he

was summoned, and sent a "most humble and sorrowful petition" to Lord Burghley. There were two prisons, one over each gateway. The one was the Bishop of London's cell for convicted clerks and Romish recusants; the other, the public prison of Westminster, was the "very uneasy and inconvenient lodging" where Raleigh was brought after his sentence (October 28th, 1618), and where Ben Jonson was once confined, probably for brawling. Here Dean Tounson came to offer ghostly comfort to the once brilliant courtier, now a broken-down though not broken-spirited old man. The dean afterwards wrote of him as "the most fearless of death that ever was known, and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience." On that raw October morning, when the gallant knight, clad in a sober suit of black velvet, and hair-coloured satin, and ash-coloured silk stockings, was to be led out to execution, Tounson came again and administered the last sacrament. Raleigh was very cheerful. The dean records how he ate a hearty breakfast, smoked a pipe, and had a glass of sack before walking to Old Palace Yard, making no more of his death than if it had been a journey. The night before, he had written that famous verse, in the fly-leaf of his bible:

> "Lo, such is time, that takes on trust
> Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
> And pays us but with earth and dust,
> Who, in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days.
> But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
> My God shall raise me up I trust."

This bible he gave to his friend the dean, who had accompanied him to the scaffold, and addressed a last question touching his faith to him even as he laid his head upon the block.

In the crowd that day stood one, Sir John Eliot, who was destined himself to be incarcerated in the Gate-house. For in June, 1627, Eliot, and several other popular leaders who appealed against the forced loan, were imprisoned here, and, before many months had

passed, his friend, the great John Hampden,* joined him in these narrow quarters. Long afterwards (1643), one of Hampden's friends wrote that the close imprisonment in the Gate-house, which "he endured for a long time together . . . about the loan money . . . indangered his life, and was a very great means so to impaire his health, that he never after did look like the same man he was before."

Here, too, Lilly the astrologer was imprisoned for a while. Two roystering Cavalier poets were also condemned to this uncomfortable prison-house at different times. Savage, sentenced to death for the murder of a Mr. Sinclair in a drunken brawl at a public-house; and Lovelace. The latter's joyous muse did not desert him in his solitude, and it was here he penned those charming lines to Althea which conclude with the oft-quoted verses—

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron barres a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.

"If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soule am free,
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty."

Another writer, Captain Bell, a prisoner for ten years, seems to have found it possible to continue authorship in these narrow lodgings, for here he translated Luther's "Table Talk," for which work he said he had received a commission from an apparition—probably Luther himself.

It is a mistake to suppose that Henrietta Maria's little dwarf, Geoffrey Hudson, actually died in this prison; but he was one of the many strange prisoners temporarily lodged in the Gate-house. Pepys was also imprisoned here for a brief space.

In 1619, Sir Christopher Hatton, nephew of the great Chancellor, but not in any way famous himself, was actually allowed to lie in the chapel where Abbot Islip

* John Hampden is sometimes confused with his relative Sir Edward Hampden, also in the Gate-house that year.

had hitherto been left in solitary grandeur. Dean Tounson carried his disregard for the honour due to this great builder and benefactor so far, that he allowed Lady Hatton to raise a cumbrous monument in the place of the altar. Five years later, the last burial permitted in the Abbot's Chapel was that of Hatton's youngest daughter, Jane, who "died of the spotted fever; a pretty gentlewoman, much lamented." Since then the abbot's figure has been broken up or stolen, and the doorway spoilt by the erection of a hideous eighteenth-century tablet. No other monuments have intruded into this beautiful little chapel, and the remains of Islip's tomb are now to be seen in the window, moved there from the centre.

Tounson officiated this year at a royal funeral, one of the few occasions on which his name occurs even incidentally in the records of the Abbey. In the winter before, a large comet had appeared while Queen Anne lay sick unto death, and, when at last (March 4th) the end came, the common people thought this great light must have been sent "as a flambeau to the Queen's funeral."

Anne of Denmark died at Hampton Court at the early age of forty-four. The royal finances had reached so low an ebb that from March to May 13th her embalmed body lay at Somerset House, unburied, for want of money "to buy the blacks" necessary for the funeral, and the king's servants could not even be put into decent mourning. After all this delay, however, and much talk that the funeral was to cost three times as much again as Elizabeth's, the result seems to have hugely disappointed the public; the only grudging praise bestowed upon it accounted the ceremony as "better than that of Prince Henry, but fell short of Queen Elizabeth's. The chariot and six horses, in which the effigy was drawn, were most remarkable."

The gossip Chamberlain gives a lively description of "the Queen's funeral, which was but a drawling tedious sight, more remarkable for number than for any other singularity, there being 280 poor women, besides an army of mean fellows that were servants to the lords, and others of the train. And though the number of lords and ladies was very great, yet methought all together they made

but a poor shew, which, perhaps, was because they were apparelled all alike, or that they came laggering all along tired with the length of the way (from Somerset House) and weight of their cloaths, every lady having twelve yards of broad-cloth about her, and the countesses sixteen. The Countess of Arundel was chief mourner (but, whether in her own right or supplying the place of the Lady Elizabeth, I know not), being supported by the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton, as likewise the rest had some to lean on, or else I see not how they had been able to hold out. The Prince came after the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot, who had preached at Prince Henry's burial), who was to make the sermon, and went before the corps that was drawn by six horses. It was full six o'clock at night before all the ceremony was done at church, where the herse is to continue till the next term, the fairest and stateliest that I think was ever seen there."

The Prince sat in "the dean's pue," the King being too ill to be present; the Lord Chancellor and the earls in the "schollers' pue," while Dean Tounson, in accordance with the immemorial usage of the Abbey, continued to our own days, gave the final blessing, in spite of the Primate's presence. Anne lies in a leaden coffin in the Sheffield Chapel, north-east of Henry VII. Her hearse remained in the Abbey till July 12th, and proved a bone of contention between the chapter and the Heralds College for many years to come.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WILLIAMS, LORD KEEPER, BISHOP, AND DEAN.

It is a relief to turn from two deans who looked on the deanery as but a stepping-stone on the way to promotion, to Tounson's successor, John Williams. He was born at Aberconway in 1562, and educated at Goodman's native place, Ruthin, and at St. John's, Cambridge. The biography of his faithful admirer, Bishop Hacket, overloaded as it is with extravagant eulogy, gives all sorts of personal details about him which are full of interest. Like so many of his predecessors at Westminster, he won his way to promotion in the church by his own talents, aided by the patronage of influential courtiers. Thus for five years he lived as chaplain with Lord Chancellor Egerton, and "compassed a plentiful fortune for himself from that bounty which denied him nothing, and commonly prevented him before he asked," till, Hacket observes, he became "the only jewel which the Lord Chancellor hung in his ear." During these early years of comparative leisure, Williams had "ransacked not only the open courts and spacious lodgings, but the very closets and corners of the best arts and authors; he plied his book as much in the night as in the day, Nature contributing to this a strange assistance, that from his youth to his old age he asked but three hours' sleep in twenty-four to keep him in health."

On Egerton's death Williams was made domestic chaplain to the King, and while at Court won the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, then in the height of his power, by helping to convert his affianced bride, Lady Catherine Manners, from the Roman to the English Church. Buckingham's friendship stood him in good stead, and through it he first obtained the Deanery of Salisbury, and, on Tounson's transference as bishop to Salisbury, Williams

took his place at Westminster. He was installed on July 12th, 1620, and his first act—a good omen for the future of the chapter—was a progress through the estates still belonging to the Abbey.

He threw himself at once with all the enthusiasm of his nature into his new duties. Hacket gives the following lamentable account of the fabric at this time, and of Williams's improvements:—"The piety and liberality of the Abbot (Islip) to this *Domo*, came into Dr. Williams by transmigration, who in his entrance to that place, found the church in such decay that all that passed by and loved the honour of God's house, shook their heads at the stones that dropped down from the pinnacles. Therefore, that the ruins of it might be no more a reproach, this godly *Jehoiada* took care for the Temple of the Lord to repair it, *to set it in his state and to strengthen it* (2 Chronicles xxiv. 13). He began at the south-east part, which looked the more deformed with decay, because it (was) coupled with a later building, I mean the Chapel of King Henry the VII., which was tight and fresh. The north and west part also, which looks to the great sanctuary, was far gone in dilapidations, the great buttresses were almost crumbled to dust with the injuries of the weather, which he re-edified with durable materials and beautified with elegant statues (among whom Abbot Islip had a place), so that £4,500 were expended in a trice upon the workmanship. All this was his own cost, neither would he impatronize his name to the credit of that work which should be raised up by other men's collatitious liberality."

Hacket then proceeds to laud Williams for his other benefactions to the Abbey.

"First, that God might be praised with a cheerful noise in his sanctuary, he procured the sweetest music, both for the organ and for the voices of all parts, that ever was heard in an English quire. In those days that Abby and Jerusalem Chamber, where he gave entertainment to his friends, were the volaries of the choicest singers that the land had bred. With the same generosity and strong propension of mind to enlarge the boundaries of learning, he converted a wast room, situate in the east

side of the cloysters, into Plato's Portico, into a goodly library ;* modelled it into decent shape, furnished it with desks and chairs, accoutred it with all utensils, and stored it with a vast number of learned volumes, for which use he lighted most fortunately upon the study of that learned gentleman, Mr. Baker of Highgate, who in a long and industrious life had collected into his own possession the best authors in all sciences in their best editions, which being bought at £500 (a cheap penny worth for such precious ware), were removed into this storehouse. When he received thanks from all the professors of learning in and about London, far beyond his expectation, because they had free admittance to suck hony from the flowers of such a garden as they wanted before, it compelled him to unlock his cabinet of jewels, and bring forth his choicest manuscripts. A right noble gift in all the books he gave to this Serapœum, but especially the parchments. Some good authors were confer'd by other benefactors, but the richest fruit was shaken from the boughs of this one tree, which will keep green in an unfading memory, in despite of the tempest of iniquity. . . . I cannot end with the erection of this library, I have but almost done, for this dean gratified the college with many other benefits. When he came to look into the state of the house, he found it in a debt of £300 by the hospitality of the table. It had then a brotherhood of most worthy prebendaries—Mountford, Sutton, Laud (afterwards the famous archbishop), Cæsar, Robinson, Darell, Fox, King, Newell and the rest, but ancient frugal diet was laid aside in all places, and the prices of provisions in less than fifteen years were doubled in the markets, by which enhancement the debt was contracted and by him discharged.

"Not long after (in 1624), to the number of forty scholars, the alumni of Queen Elizabeth's foundation (A.D. 1560), he added four more, distinguished from the rest in their habit of violet color'd gowns, for whose maintenance he purchased lands. These were adopted children, and in this diverse from the natural children that the place to

* The present library, called by seventeenth-century tradition "the monk's parlour," is really part of the old "Dorter," which may have been used as a parlour in the last days of the monastery, when the monks were few.

which they are removed, when they deserve it by their learning, is St. John's College in Cambridge. And in those days, when good turns were received with the right hand, it was esteemed among the praises of a stout and vigilant dean, that whereas a great limb of the liberties of the City (of Westminster) was threatened to be cut off by the encroachments of the higher power of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and the Knight Marshal with their tip-staves, he stood up against them with a wise and confident spirit, and would take no composition to let them share in those privileges which by right they never had, but preserved the charter of his place in its entire jurisdiction and laudable immunities."

In spite of this inflated language, Hacket's praise of the new dean is not above his desert. He lost no time in repairing the fabric, and when later on (1628), after his favour at court was on the wane, ill-natured tongues accused him of absorbing the revenues of the church, and saving, "out of the diet and bellies of the prebendaries," in order to pay for the repairs, a Chapter Act, signed by some of the very canons who afterwards turned against him, completely exonerated him from the charge, and corroborates Hacket's statement that he spent his private income upon the church.

With regard to the school, he took Andrewes as his example, and like him showed a personal interest in the boys. When in residence he was wont to dictate lectures every week to the several classes, and even when he had the duties of the Great Seal added to his other work, he used to call the scholars up to the high table in the Abbot's Hall, where they still dined together, and ask them questions about their lessons.

Williams always remained a *persona grata* with James, and as yet he had the support of both King and favourite, and many letters passed between him and the Duke of Buckingham. In his quarrel with the Lord Steward, referred to by Hacket, about the jurisdiction of the chapter over some land, he wrote to Villiers asking for the same protection which "the two Cecils and the Earl of Somerset, who neither regarded the Church, learning, or honour in any measure as you do" (a gross

piece of flattery), "have ever afforded the deans of this Church" (Cabala, May 6th, 1621).

With all his excellences, and perhaps on account of his superabundant energy and arrogance, Williams was not popular. He was a strict and imperious ruler, and made all kinds of petty regulations—for example, he forbade ladies with yellow ruffs to come to the services.

Before he had been many months in his new post the dean had a disagreement with the House of Commons, who claimed the right of nominating their own preacher at St. Margaret's—a privilege which seems hitherto to have been kept in the hands of the dean and chapter. On February 6th, 1621, the Speaker informed the House of Commons that the abbey authorities had refused to let them have their usual Communion Service in the Abbey on account of this dispute. But if the dean might appoint a canon as preacher at St. Margaret's, a concession would be made to the objections raised by the House against the use, introduced by the High Church deans, of the wafer, and they should receive ordinary bread as desired. Both sides, however, were obdurate; the Commons had chosen Usher for their preacher and refused to yield, so they received the Communion at the Temple instead of at the Abbey this session.

The days when the Prince Abbots held great political posts seemed to have come back on the appointment of Williams as Lord Keeper on July 10th, 1621, and, before the year was out, the Bishopric of Lincoln was added to his other honours. On the day when he first took his place at court, it is recorded by his faithful biographer, that "he set out early in the morning with the company of the judges and some few more, and passing through the Cloisters he carried them with him into the Chapel of Henry VII., where he prayed on his knees (silently but very devoutly, as might have been seen from his gesture), almost a quarter of an hour."

In this same chapel Williams was consecrated on the 11th of November to the see of Lincoln. He refused to be consecrated by Archbishop Abbot in Lambeth Chapel, alleging conscientious scruples, Abbot having lately shot a keeper by accident, the real fact being that he shared

the enmity of Laud, who was a prebendary here, for the Primate. Laud received a stall in 1620, and held it for eight years ; already as a friend of the two last deans, his influence had been felt, and, as is illustrated by the complaints of the Commons about the wafer, the ritual at the Abbey had been altered from the puritan plainness of the first Reformers, to conformity with the views of the High Church party. Even in those times, when plurality of church appointments was common enough, there was some murmuring at Williams's three posts, "a perfect diocese within himself, as being bishop, dean, prebend residentiary, and parson" (he had the living of Walgrave), "and all these at once." It seems that Williams was allowed to hold the bishopric with the deanery nominally because the revenue of that see was small. His own reasons were frank enough. He said that "here he was handsomely housed, which if he quitted he must trust to the King to provide one for him," and "into the deanery he shut himself fast with as strong bolts and bars as the law could make." The proud Lord Keeper, in fact, lived alone in the deanery, aloof from the court as in a fortress, and caused so high a dignitary as the Lord Treasurer to complain that he had three doorkeepers, and "you are so locked up that no man can have access to you." To which, however, Williams retorted that he supposed he mistook the college porters for doorkeepers, and that his only locks were his Majesty's business.

In 1623 Camden the antiquary, a figure familiar for nearly half a century to all who lived in the precincts, vanished from his favourite haunts amongst the tombs. He died on the 9th of November, and his body was brought from Chislehurst to his house in Dean's Yard, whence it was carried to Poets' Corner, and buried in the presence of all the Heralds College, and a great company of mourners, Canon Sutton (who was buried close by in 1629) preaching "a good modest sermon."

In 1624 two cousins of the King, representatives of the French branch of the Stuart family, the Stuarts of Aubigny, were buried there. Ludovic, the elder brother, bore the title not only of Lennox, like his ancestors, but also of Richmond, thus uniting two great names

represented hitherto in the Abbey by the tombs of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., and of Margaret, Countess of Lennox. Ludovic, to whom James was warmly attached, died of apoplexy on February 16th, 1625: he was found dead in his bed by his wife, who promptly cut off her hair to show her grief, and behaved in a strange and extravagant manner at the funeral. The Duke was buried (April 19th) in one of the little side chapels south of Henry VII.'s monument, which is entirely blocked up by his huge tomb. The funeral was celebrated "with as much state as if he had been a Prince of England": there were "one thousand mourners, six or eight horses velvet draped, his effigy in a coach drawn by six horses, and his hearse at Westminster, equal in all points to Queen Anne's. The Lord Keeper preached, and much commended his mildness and many virtues." Two arrows were carried before the coffin to show that he had been a good archer—a curious survival of the days of archery.

Lady Frances Howard (formerly Countess of Hertford), his widow, was buried in the same vault on the 12th of October, 1639, and Colonel Chester describes her will as "very long and of marvellous historical and genealogical interest." Esmé, who succeeded his brother Ludovic as Duke of Lennox (his son James, who lies in his uncle's vault, was created Duke of Richmond in 1641), survived the brother, who had been "not only a loving brother, but a careful father to him," a very few months. He died on the 30th of July of the spotted fever or ague, and was honourably buried beside his great-aunt, Margaret of Lennox, in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel. His grandson, Esmé (died 1661), lies in Ludovic's vault: his heart, enclosed in an urn, stands close to the duke's tomb. In this same burial-place is the coffin of Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (d. 1702), called "La Belle Stuart," and so renowned for her beauty that it is said Charles II. wished to divorce his queen in order to marry her: a project put a stop to by Lady Frances Stuart's own wedding to the duke. Her wax effigy used to stand here, but was removed with the other figures to the Islip Chantry Chapel in the nineteenth cen-

tury. She it was who sat for the figure of Britannia on the coins. Her husband, Charles (died 1673), who lies in the same vault, was the last Stuart of this line who bore the great titles of Richmond and Lennox, titles which were granted by Charles II. to his son (Charles) by the Duchess of Portsmouth, who, in spite of his illegitimate birth, is buried amongst the legitimate Stuart dukes in this vault.

In the winter of 1624 the King commanded Williams to give a banquet to the French ambassadors who came over to negotiate the marriage of Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria: the day fixed was December 15th, and the supper "was provided in the College of Westminster, in the room named Hierusalem Chamber, but for that night it might have been called Lucullus his Apollo. But the ante-feast was kept in the Abbey, as it went before the feast so it was beyond it, being purely an episcopal collation. The Embassadors, with the nobles and gentlemen in their company, were brought in at the north gate of the Abbey, which was stuck with flambeaux every where, both within and without the quire, that strangers might cast their eyes upon the stateliness of the church. At the door of the quire the Lord Keeper besought their Lordships to go in, and to take their seats there for a while, promising on the word of a Bishop that nothing of ill-relish should be offered before them, which they accepted, and at their entrance the organ was touched by the best finger of that age, Mr. Orlando Gibbons. While a verse was plaid, the Lord Keeper presented the Embassadors and the rest of the noblest quality of their nation with our Liturgy as it spake to them in their own language, and in the delivery of it used those few words but pithy: 'That their Lordships at leisure might read in that book in what form of holiness our Prince worshipp'd God, wherein he durst say nothing savour'd any corruption of doctrine, much less of heresie, which he hoped would be so reported to the Lady Princess Henrietta.' The Lords Embassadors, and their great train took up all the stalls, where they continued half an hour, while the quiremen, vested in their rich copes with their choristers, sang three several anthems with most exquisite

RICHARD LOVELACE IN THE GATE-HOUSE PRISON.
(*See p.* 216.)

CORONATION OF CHARLES I.: THE PROGRESS TO THE ABBEY.
(*See p.* 231.)

voices before them. The most honourable and the meanest persons of the French all the time uncover'd with great reverence, except that secretary Villoclare alone kept on his hat. And when all others carried away the books of Common Prayer commended to them, he alone left his in the stall of the quire where he had sate, which was not brought after him (Ne Margarita), etc. as if he had forgot it" (Hacket).

Among the French ambassadors entertained by Williams was a French abbot, "one who held his abbacy," says Hacket, "alla mode de France, in a lay capacity." He expressed a wish to be present in the Abbey on Christmas Day, to which the hospitable dean gladly acceded. "The abbot kept his hour to come to that high feast, and a place was well fancied aloft, with a latice and curtains to conceal him. Mr. William Boswell, like Philip riding with the treasurer of Queen Candace in the same chariot, sate with him directing him in the process of all the sacred offices perform'd, and made clear explanation to all his scruples. The church work of that ever blessed day fell to the Lord Keeper, . . . he sung the service, preach'd the sermon, consecrated the Lord's Table, and, being assisted with some of the prebendaries, distributed the elements of the Holy Communion to a great multitude, meekly kneeling upon their knees. Four hours and better were spent that morning before the congregation were dismissed with the episcopal blessing. The abbot was entreated to be a guest at the dinner provided in the College Hall, where all the members of that incorporation feasted together, even to the eleemosynaries (almsmen), called the beadsmen of the foundation, no distinction being made, but high and low eating their meat with gladness together." After dinner the dean retired with his guest and a few others into a gallery, probably to the abbot's "long room," or perhaps to the gallery above the hall, where they held a long and amicable theological discussion.

The mantelpiece in the Jerusalem Chamber, with the curious little heads, intended for the royal bridegroom and bride, was presented by Dean Williams about this time, and the armorial bearings in the north window are his.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES AND THE FALL OF THE LORD KEEPER.

On the 22nd of March, 1625, when James lay upon his death-bed, Williams hastened to Theobalds, and there ministered to his dying friend and Sovereign. Till the end (March 27th) he never left his side night or day, and closed his eyes with his own hands. He it was, too, who broke the news of his approaching death to James, and exhorted him "'to set his house in order,' for he thought his days to come would be few in this world." Then, when all was over, and while the late king's embalmed body lay in state at Denmark House for several weeks, the dean returned to the Abbey in order to prepare for the funeral. A magnificent hearse, "very ingeniously designed by Inigo Jones," was prepared in the Abbey; within it lay the King's "lively statue," made by Maximilian Coult (the artist employed on Elizabeth's tomb): it is described as having "severall joynts in the arms, leggs, and body, to be moved to severall postures . . the face and hands of the said representation being curiously wrought." In the Lord Chamberlain's book are recorded all the various items connected with this effigy, which was most elaborately finished, a temporary one being made "suddenly to serve only at Denmark House until the funeral" for £10. One Daniel Parkes provided a "periwig beard and eyebrows" for each of these two figures, and the face and hands were painted, while a gilded crown with counterfeit stones and a lion, "His Majesty's crest," was set on his head.

The hearse (of which an engraving may be seen in Nichol's "Progresses of James I.," vol. iv.) was a most elaborate structure, covered with banners and coats of arms. The parsimonious spirit of the late King seems

to have descended on Inigo Jones, who "made the four heads of the cariatides" (female figures at the corners) "of playster of Paris, and made the drapery of them of white callico, which was very handsome and very cheap, and shewed as well as if they had been cut out of white marble."

The funeral took place on the 7th of May, and Chamberlain's ready pen described it as the "great funeral, the greatest indeed that ever was known in England, there being blacks distributed for above 9,000 persons, the herse likewise being the fairest and best fashioned that hath been seen, wherein Inigo Jones, the surveyor, did his part. The King himself was chief mourner, and followed on foot from Denmark House to Westminster Church." (Williams mentioned the fact that the King "walk'd on foot this day after the herse" in his sermon as beyond all former precedents.) "Where it was five o'clock stricken before all was entered," the procession having started at ten o'clock, "and the Lord Keeper took up two hours in the sermon, which they say we shall shortly have in print, so that it was late before the offering and all other ceremonies were ended. In fine, all was performed with great magnificence, but the order was very confused and disorderly; the whole charge is said to arise to above £50,000."

Archbishop Abbot, who was so decrepit that he had to be supported on each side, officiated; Williams, in the course of his sermon, compared James in ten particulars with Solomon, and was censured, not only for its inordinate length, but also because the new sovereign was scarcely mentioned. It is said to have been modelled on the discourse of Bishop Fisher at the funeral of Henry VII., and also on Cardinal Peron's oration over the dead "Grand Monarque" Henri IV. In spite of all this ostentatious pomp, however, not only was no monument ever raised to commemorate the grave of the first Stuart king, but there was actually no record of the place of his burial, about which there were many conflicting opinions. At last Dean Stanley made a thorough examination of the royal vaults, and discovered the coffin of James I. lying side by side with those of Henry VII. and his queen, on

the north side of the vault. On the leaden coffin was a copper plate with an elaborate Latin inscription, giving the titles of the first king of Great Britain, the years of his age, fifty-eight odd, of his reign over Scotland, fifty-seven years odd, and over England, twenty-two. Of the inscription, quoted by Dart from the Lansdowne MSS., and said to be on a plate of gold, there was no trace to be found. On the walls of the vault are scratched "John Ware," the initials "E.C.," and the year 1625—evidently records of the masons who closed the vault; and Dean Stanley inscribed upon the entrance the date of his exploration of the vault, February 11th, 1869.

James's death was followed by a "great, dry summer," during which the pestilence raged in and about London. So severe was the plague that Charles had to bring his bride, Henrietta Maria, into London (in June) without any of the usual pageantry, and the Parliament was obliged to remove to Oxford. For this reason the king remained uncrowned for about ten months, waiting for the abatement of the terrible infection.

Meantime, Williams fell into dire disgrace at Court. The first ominous sign of his loss of royal favour came in October, when he was obliged to resign the Great Seal. But a worse fall was yet to come. The cause of the King's coldness to his father's friend is to be found in the enmity of the two favourites, Buckingham and Laud, to Williams. Long before, the Duke's far-seeing mother had warned the dean that Laud "was the man that did undermine him with her son, and would undermine any man that himself might rise"; and now her words came true. In January, 1626, a committee of bishops was assembled in order to revise the Order of Coronations, for the form at Elizabeth's had been a mixture of the two religions, and at the coronation of James it "had been drawn in haste, and wanted many things which might have been considered in a time of leisure." Laud took a leading part in this revision, and for convenience moved to his prebendal residence at Westminster from Durham House, where he had lived with his friend Bishop Neile for four years. Williams, having come to the deanery in order "to doe my best service for the praeparation to the

coronation," made a vain appeal to the Duke of Buckingham to remember his old friendship, and intercede for him with Charles. But Villiers was obdurate, and in January the final blow to the dean's hopes was given, when he was forbidden to take his official place at the approaching coronation. The permission to choose his deputy was a mockery, for Williams could not bring himself to name his arch enemy, Laud, yet he knew the king would have no other. He avoided the difficulty by sending a list of the prebendaries for Charles's selection, and himself retired to Bugden.

On the 16th, Laud was formally appointed deputy, and for the first time in our annals a king was crowned in the Abbey without the assistance of abbot or dean. The coronation day was fixed for the 2nd of February, Candlemas Day, the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin being selected by Charles, as a delicate compliment to his consort's name of Marie. But at the last the Queen refused to be crowned, nor was she present in the church, though she was offered to have a place made fit for her, but "took a chamber at the palace gate, where she might behold them going and returning, while her French ladies were 'frisking and dancing in the room.'"

Mr. Mead says, "It was one of the most punctual coronations since the Conquest. The prayer therein was used which hath been omitted since Henry the VII.'s time. Edward III. had it, and some other both Norman and Saxon Kings. It understands the King not to be merely laic but a mixed person." There was again no procession from the Tower. Charles went by water instead of through the City, and then walked on blue cloth from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, clad in that white satin* doublet beneath his purple robes which afterwards won him the ill-omened title of the "White King." At the west door he was met by the prebendaries, clothed in those rich and ancient copes which were doomed to destruction before the next coronation. For the last time old Archbishop Abbot officiated at a royal ceremonial, and Laud, the deputy dean, assisted him. As one of his official duties, he presented the Confessor's staff to the King.

* The kings usually wore a red doublet.

Upon it was a new gilt dove, another of the many bad omens remembered in the evil days to come ; for a wing of the ancient dove had been broken, and Acton, the king's goldsmith, having been commissioned to mend it, found it impossible to do so without leaving a visible join. Whereupon Charles threatened in his most arbitrary manner to give the commission to somebody else, and Acton, taking the shortest way out of the difficulty, made a new bird without his royal master's knowledge.

D'Ewes gives another unfortunate occurrence. He tells how, after the King had been presented bareheaded as usual to the people and proclaimed by the archbishop, "Whether some expected hee should have spoken more, others hearing not well what hee saied, hindred those by questioning which might have heard, or that the newnes and greatnes of the action busied men's thoughts, or the presence of soe deare a King drew admiring silence, or that those which were nearest doubted what to doe, but not one worde followed till my Lord of Arundel tolde them they should crie out 'God save King Charles.' Upon which, as ashamed of their first oversight, a little shouting followed. At the other sides, wheere hee presented himselfe, there was not the like failing." The preacher was Dr. Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who, as Fuller points out, "in some sort . . . preached his own funerall, dying shortlie after, and even then the black jaundice had so possessed him (a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its buriall) that all despaired of his recovery." While the ceremony proceeded a slight shock of earthquake shook the church, and, says Baxter, who was a schoolboy here at the time, frightened "the boys and all the neighbourhood."

Amidst all the rejoicings and festivities at court which followed the coronation, the dean sat brooding in melancholy exile at his palace of Bugden, which belonged to the Bishopric of Lincoln. Sad he might be, but his proud spirit was not quelled, and he abated not a jot of his decanal or episcopal splendour and way of living, in spite of Lord Cottington's hint that "the lustre in which he lived gave offence, as it was not the King's intention that one he had plucked down should live so high." He

retained the deanery, although his courtier friend advised him to part with it, "his Majesty not approving of his being so near a neighbour to Whitehall"; but for three years he was not allowed to keep his residence, though obliged by the statutes to attend two chapters in a year and the great festivals, such as Christmas and Easter.

Thus, during the first decade of Charles's reign, there was no violent change at Westminster, and the only annals to record are the burials of various more or less distinguished persons. The light-hearted French queen, whose gay spirit was to be bowed and bent, though not broken, in the troubles of future years, was doomed to lose three of her young children before the storm of rebellion shattered her happy domestic life, all of whom lie in the royal chapel of Henry VII. The first, her eldest son, called Charles, a name repeated at the birth of the prince who took his place in the family, died a few hours after his birth, and was buried on May 14th, 1629, by Archbishop Laud in the vault of Mary, Queen of Scots. Two little sisters, Catherine (1639) and Anne, were afterwards laid beside him.

In the Abbey will be found many of Charles's courtiers. Thus, two members of the Holles family were buried here, and statues were erected near their graves by the Earl of Clare, the one being his son, the other his brother. Both were military men, and fought in the Flemish campaign, though the younger, Francis, died before he had won his spurs, at the early age of eighteen (1622), while his uncle, Sir George Holles (died 1626) was a companion-at-arms of Sir Francis Vere. Nicholas Stone, the sculptor of these monuments (he received £150 for the two), had the bad taste to turn the two Jacobean soldiers into Roman warriors, even as, two centuries later, Sir Robert Peel was metamorphosed by Gibson into a Roman statesman. Already the recumbent figures on the tombs were raised upon their elbows, and, in the case of Elizabeth Russell, one was in a sitting posture. Now Stone placed young Francis seated upon a pedestal near Bess Russell in St. Edmund's Chapel. The standing statue of Sir George usurps the site of the altar of St. John the Evangelist: it was put there in order to be near Vere's tomb,

and at the base is a bas-relief of the battle of Nieuport, in which Holles and Vere fought side by side.

On the 18th of September, 1628, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, assassinated on the 23rd of August at Portsmouth, was buried—without pomp, on account of his unpopularity with the people—in a little chapel on the north of Henry VII.'s tomb. Twenty-three years before, the court favourite's father, Sir George Villiers, a rough old Leicestershire squire, had been buried in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, where his widow, created Countess of Buckingham in her own right, had raised a fine tomb, made by Nicholas Stone, at the cost of £560, upon which are the effigies of herself and her husband.

Lady Catherine Manners, the duke's wife, raised the monument over her husband's grave, but she herself is not buried here: she returned to her old religion and married again. Below in the vault are three of the boys, whose white marble figures are placed above their parents' effigies. One, an infant son, lay here already; another, Francis, the youngest, born after his father's death, grew into a beautiful and comely youth, loved by friend and political foe alike. He fell in the engagement at Kingston (1648), fighting for his king. "His body was brought by water to York House, then sad and desolate, and was taken thence to be deposited in his father's vault, with a Latin inscription on the coffin, preserved by Brian Fairfax, a faithful adherent, who thought it a pity that the epitaph should be buried with him."* The inscription, seen by Dean Stanley when he opened the vault in 1866, records the lad's "extraordinary beauty and nine wounds." His elder brother, George, the second and last Villiers who bore the title of Buckingham, has come down to fame as the most profligate even at Charles II.'s profligate court. With him the Villiers family died (1687), unregretted and unmourned.

Another of Charles's courtiers, Sir James Fullerton, one of more solid worth than the notorious duke, was buried in the Ambulatory in January, 1632, and a beautiful marble altar tomb with alabaster effigies of himself and Lady Magdalen, his wife (who is not buried here), was

* "Life and Times of George Villiers," by Mrs. Thomson.

afterwards raised in St. Paul's Chapel. Close by is the fine tomb made by Nicholas Stone for the first Secretary of State, Dudley Carleton, Lord Dorchester, who died about a year after Fullerton—February 15th, 1632. Carleton had been Ambassador in Spain under James I. and was the last English Deputy who sat in the States General of the Netherlands.

In the south aisle of the choir a striking bronze bust by the famous sculptor of Charles I.'s equestrian statue, Hubert le Sueur, commemorates Sir Thomas Richardson (died 1635), Speaker of the House of Commons under James I. and Lord Chief Justice under Charles I. who was so notorious for his jests.

Between 1630 and 1640 died two poets whose monuments were afterwards placed near Spenser's in Poets' Corner. The first, Michael Drayton (died 1631), of great contemporary fame, is little more than a name to us now. Tom Brown speaks of him as the poet "with half a nose . . . whose works are forgotten before his monument is worn out." The monument was given by the same Countess of Dorset who had presented the tablet to Spenser ten years before, and Mr. Francis Quarles, Drayton's great friend, is said by Aubrey to have been the author of the beautiful epitaph, though it is also ascribed to Ben Jonson. Aubrey and Heylin, his contemporaries, both speak of his grave as near the small north door of the nave; but if this is so, the burial certificate was forgotten, for his name is not in the register. Fuller speaks of Chaucer as having "the company of Spenser and Drayton, a pair royal of poets enough almost to make passengers' feet move metrically, who go over the place where so much poetical dust is interred," but no trace of Drayton's coffin has been found in this spot.

The next poet to die (1637) was the Laureate, Ben Jonson himself, and, like Spenser, he died in Westminster, close to the school and abbey where his boyhood had been passed. The poet was buried in an upright position, apart from the other bards in the north aisle of the nave, and he might have lain like Drayton in an unrecorded grave had not a friend, who chanced to be passing when

the stone was being fixed above it, paid the mason a small sum to cut the inscription : " O rare Ben Jonson." The ancient stone has long been moved from the pavement, and placed against the wall close by, while a modern slab marks the exact spot of the grave. The monument, which is close to Spenser's in Poets' Corner, was put up before 1728, at the expense of the Earl of Oxford. The buttons on the coat of the bust, turned to the left instead of to the right, gave rise to the couplet—

> " O rare Ben Jonson, what a turncoat grown,
> Thou ne'er wert such till thou wast clothed in stone."

In February, 1638, Sir Robert Ayton, a Scotch poet, who loved his roystering compatriot " dearly," was buried near the steps leading to Henry VII.'s Chapel. Close by is his bust by the one-eyed sculptor Fanelli.

In the winter of 1637-8 a search took place in the Abbey for buried treasure. The astrologer William Lilly tells the story in his curious autobiography. It seems that one Davy Ramsey, the king's clockmaker, " had been informed that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the cloyster of Westminster Abbey ; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then Bishop of Lincoln ; the dean gave him liberty to search after it with this proviso, that if any was discovered his church should have a share of it. Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott (a man who had been in Lord Norris's service), who pretended the use of Mosaical rods to assist him herein. I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter's night Davy Ramsey, with several gentlemen, myself, and Scott, entered the cloysters. We played the hazel rod round about the cloyster ; upon the west side of the cloysters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there. The labourers digged at least six foot deep, and then we met with a coffin, but in regard it was not heavy we did not open, which we afterwards much repented. From the cloysters we went into the Abbey Church, where upon a sudden (there being no wind when we began) so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a wind did rise that we verily believed the west end of the church would have fallen upon

us. Our rods would not move at all ; the candles and torches all but one were extinguished or burned very dimly. . . . John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions and command to dismiss the dæmons, which, when done, all was quiet again. . . . The true miscarriage of the business was by reason of so many people being present at the operation, for there were about thirty, some laughing, other deriding us, so that if we had not dismissed the dæmons, I believe most part of the Abbey Church had been blown down."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE LAST FLUCTUATIONS IN THE CAREER OF DEAN WILLIAMS.

During the eleven years which had passed since the coronation of Charles, Williams had clung to his deanery by sheer force of will, in spite of every attempt to dislodge him. Now, however, matters rapidly went from bad to worse, and after the installation of Peter Heylin as prebendary, internal quarrels in the chapter were added to the outward annoyance caused to Williams from the enmity of Laud. The latter had already, during the eight years (1620-28) that he was prebendary, done all he could to make the dean's post untenable, and Heylin afterwards took the same aggressive position in the chapter, supported by Laud's influence. The most serious dispute was about a pew called "the great pew," on the south side of the altar, beneath the picture of Richard II. (the picture hangs now in the same place, but was removed for a time to the Jerusalem Chamber, because it was getting injured by the wigs of the occupants of the seats below it), where the Lord Keepers and Chancellors used to sit. To this pew Williams and the prebendaries each laid claim, and finally the matter was brought before the Lords Commissioners, who settled that the prebendaries had the prior right, and that none but lords and the eldest sons of earls might sit with them Williams was so incensed at the decision, that he refused to go to morning prayer henceforth, and rarely appeared at any of the Abbey services.

The other disputes reached a crisis in 1635-36, and Heylin, abetted by those of the prebendaries who were, like himself, in Laud's interest, promoted a petition against the dean, composed of thirty-six more or less frivolous charges. For instance, some of the accusations against Williams were that "he came not always in

DEATH OF FRANCIS VILLIERS AT KINGSTON.
(*See p.* 234.)

SEARCH FOR BURIED TREASURE IN THE ABBEY.
(*See p.* 236.)

his habit (in his vestments), and came late to service" ; that he resided too seldom and did not himself preach when he did come, to which he not unnaturally made answer, that he saw no reason to come since he was frowned at when he was there. To the first part of another charge, that he wore a *skull cap* and slippers after the French fashion at service, the clergy of the present day may plead guilty, and it is a good example of the ridiculous nature of most of the crimes for which Williams was blamed. His friendship with Osbaldeston, headmaster of Westminster School and prebendary, was also objected to, for Osbaldeston was an enemy of Laud's. In 1638 the former was cited before the Star Chamber, accused of calling the haughty prelate "Hocus pocus," "little vermin," and "the urchin," in a letter written to Williams. He was fined £5,000, deprived of all his preferments, and sentenced to have his ears nailed to the pillory in Little Dean's Yard before all his scholars ; but he wisely fled the country. He returned in 1641, when his livings were restored to him ; and in 1643-44, under the Presbyterian Government, he was the only prebendary allowed to keep the profits of his prebend. He afterwards became disaffected, and lost everything but £100 granted to him for his life : he lived in retirement till his death, in 1659, when he was buried in the south aisle of the Abbey.

On January 27th, 1636, the dean and prebendaries appeared before the Star Chamber, they having held a conference amongst themselves on the 25th in the Jerusalem Chamber, when the bishop-dean had "carried himself very calmly" towards the chapter. Although judgment was given against Williams in the matter of the "Great Pew," the other charges seem to have been easily disposed of, and the commission was indefinitely postponed with absolutely no result. In fact, to quote the flowery language used by Hacket, the accusations against the dean "flew away over the Abbey like a flock of wild geese if you cast but one stone amongst them" ; but Laud's determined animosity was not so readily baffled. The next year (1637) Williams was accused of "revealing the King's secrets, he being a sworn counsellor"—a charge got up by Laud, who had the satisfaction of seeing

his old enemy fined, sent to the Tower, and deprived of all his preferments (he was suspended the 21st of December, 1637).

At last Laud, whose chaplain, Heylin, was now sub-dean and treasurer, with power to act for the dean, could have the "Laudian" forms of worship introduced into the Abbey, the High Church ritual of that day, the numerous wax candles, flowers on the altar, and other innovations in the services hitherto resisted by Williams. A commission empowered the chapter to act for the dean in the matter of letting and renewing leases, keeping courts, making official appointments at the Abbey, and, in fact, the business arrangements were to go on as if the dean were present; "all profits of right accruing to the dean" were to be set aside and paid into the Exchequer. It was under Heylin's government that a rule was made, which was renewed by Dean Bradley, for closing the gates of the precincts (Dean's Yard as it is now was not made till the next century) at 10 p.m. every night. It seems that some people had tried to break into the precincts during the night, and the chapter thought it would be safer to close the gates early. Such, however, was the opposition, that the King's intervention had to be called in (February 1st, 1638), and those who should presume to disturb the peace of the chapter henceforth were threatened with severe punishment.

Heylin, like Williams, was a benefactor to the fabric, and his biographer, Bernard, has recorded how he "took care for the repairs of the church, that had been neglected for many years"; in fact, since Williams had discontinued his residence at the Abbey. "First the great west aisle, that was ready to fall down, was made firm and strong, and the south side of the lower west aisle, much decayed, he caused to be new timbered, boarded, and leaded, but chiefly the curious arch over the preaching place (that looketh now most magnificently) he ordered to be new vaulted, and the roof thereof to be raised to the same height as the rest of the church, the charge of which came to £434 18s. 10d. He regulated also some disorders of the quire, particularly the exacting of sconces

DEAN WILLIAMS ON HIS WAY TO THE TOWER.
(*See p.* 240.)

TURBULENT SCENE AT THE ABBEY DURING CONVOCATION, 1640
(*See p.* 241.)

or perdition money, which he divided among them that best deserved it, who diligently kept prayers and attended upon other church duties."

During the winter of 1637-38, Usher, through Laud's influence, was granted the royal permission to live in the Deanery, and, so strangely did things turn out in those days of constant change from party to party, that the Irish archbishop was buried in state in the Abbey by the command of Cromwell, long after the executions of his patron Laud and of his King (1656). By a letter from Laud to Usher, we see that the prebendaries and the dean still continued to dine together in the College Hall, and the archbishop is told that they will always want to use the Jerusalem Chamber for chapters; "but," Laud adds, "there is room plentiful for Your Grace besides this." In April, 1640, Convocation met in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and continued to sit by the King's writ after the dissolution of parliament.

A violent quarrel now took place in the Abbey itself between Laud and Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who refused to sign the new canons, drawn up under the archbishop's supervision, and he was sent to the Gate-house. The populace took Goodman's side, and so great were the tumults that a guard had to be placed round the Abbey.

On the opening of the Long Parliament (November 3rd, 1640) the King came by water from Whitehall to Westminster Stairs, where he was met by the lords and officers of state, who attended him to Westminster Hall. From here he went to service in the Abbey, and listened to a sermon from the Bishop of Bristol, the last occasion upon which the unhappy king either opened parliament or entered the church so loved by his predecessors.

Williams was now sent for from the Tower by the House of Lords, and, after a private interview with Charles, he was released and restored to his post; all judgments and orders made against him were ordered to be erased at the same time.

Heylin says: "He was conducted into the Abbey Church by six of the bishops, and there officiated, it being a day of humiliation, as Dean of Westminster, more honoured at the first by the Lords and Commons than

ever any of his order, his person being looked upon as sacred, and his words deemed as oracles." The sub-dean had some right to be sarcastic, for he was preaching at the time, and not only did the restored dean take his seat in the "Great Pew" near the pulpit (the pulpit was moved in 1779 from its old place on the south side to the north, where it now stands)—an assertion of his ancient rights—but he behaved in a most unclerical manner. He was so angry with Heylin's sermon, that he did not scruple to express his annoyance, and his loud, passionate voice, shouting: "No more of that point, Peter!" added to the noise of his pastoral staff as he banged it on the pavement, "had like to have frightened the whole flock and congregation out of the fold." After service a messenger bid Heylin to an interview with the dean, but at first he refused to go, being naturally affronted by Williams's behaviour during the discourse. He finally gave way, however, and the two had a reconciliation in the dean's library, and one of the deanery servants was sent to light the canon home through the cloisters.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament a vote was passed by the House of Commons desiring that, before they took the Communion in the Abbey on the following Sunday, the communion table should be moved into the middle of the church. Williams made the diplomatic reply that, "though he would do greater service to the House of Commons than this, yet he would do as much as this for any parishioner in his diocese."

When, in March of the next year (1641), the committee on the innovations proposed in the Church Service was formed, Williams presided over the theological sub-committee, composed of clergy only, which met in the Jerusalem Chamber, and he entertained the members of it daily at dinner in the College Hall. The committee, however, collapsed in May, when the Presbyterians brought in a bill for the abolition of deans and chapters. For a time it seemed doubtful on which side the crafty dean would declare himself, but the die was cast when, on December 4th, 1641, he accepted the Archbishopric of York, with leave from the King to hold the deanery *in commendum* three years longer.

He had already had a difference with the House of Commons, when both houses had signified their intention of celebrating the peace with Scotland by attending service in the Abbey on September 7th. Williams wrote a prayer for the occasion, to which the Commons objected and ordered it not to be read ; but, as the dean persisted in including it in the service, they went to the Inns of Court Chapel instead, and the Peers alone came to the Abbey.

The ill-feeling between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians was growing worse and worse, and extended to the populace. All day long throughout the winter of 1641-42, turbulent crowds thronged about the Houses of Parliament and the Abbey. They were composed chiefly of the offscourings of the Westminster streets, and of apprentices, whose close-cropped heads won them the nickname of Roundheads, a name which was afterwards associated with the Puritan party.

A panic of fear lest Laud and his party should introduce the Popish religion had seized on the people, and although the southern primate was safe in the Tower, all the bishops were included in their hate. So threatening, indeed, was the attitude of the crowd, that the bishops were obliged to come to the House of Lords by water, and two days after Christmas, as Williams was walking thither with the Earl of Dover from the Deanery, an apprentice shouted out "No bishops." The irascible Welshman, forgetful of his archi-episcopal dignity, struck the youth, whereupon the crowd, crying out that "a bishop should be no striker," hemmed him in and almost tore the robes off his back, while the 'prentices beat him. On the next day, some unruly people got into the Abbey, and were reproved (so Old Fuller tells us in his "Church History") "by a virger for their irreverent behaviour therein. Afterwards quitting the church, the doors thereof, by command from the dean, were shut up, to secure the organs and monuments therein against the return of the apprentices . . . the multitude presently assault the church (under pretence that some of their party were detained therein), and force a pane out of the north door, but are beaten back by the officers and scholars of

the colledge. Here an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand from the leads or battlements of the church, which so bruised Sir Richard Wiseman that he died thereof, and so ended that day's distemper."

By the new year the bishops were all safely lodged in the Tower, and when they were released in May, Williams shook the dust of Westminster off his feet, and followed the King to York.

He was enthroned at York on the 27th of June, and during the troubles of the Civil War was for a time at Oxford with Charles, then took refuge in Conway Castle, of which he was Governor. Old age had not cured his irascible nature, for having been displaced from his command by another Royalist leader, he joined a Parliamentary troop in order to reduce his own stronghold and so revenge himself. After the King's execution he fell into a state of morbid depression, and died March 25th, 1650, in Lady Mostyn's house at Glodded. He was buried in Llandegay Church.

DEAN WILLIAMS EXPRESSING DISAPPROVAL OF HEYLIN'S SERMON.
(*See p.* 242.)

POETS' CORNER.

PHOTOGRAPH BY YORK & SON, NOTTING HILL, W.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ABBEY UNDER PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

When Williams left his deanery for the northern archbishopric in 1642, Heylin, as sub-dean, continued to govern the church, and, though his attachment to the royal cause was well known, yet he and the canons remained on here undisturbed for a time, while the King's fortune fluctuated amidst the changes and chances of the great Civil War. During 1642 the annals of the Abbey show a blank page, but in the next year Parliament began to interfere in the affairs of the church. Thus, on January 23rd, 1643, a motion was introduced into the Commons proposing that the capitulary body should be made to resign the keys of the treasury—the Chapel of the Pyx —where the regalia was then kept. Should they refuse, some hot independent member moved that the doors be broken open. This amendment was lost by fifty-eight to thirty-seven votes. The pretext for this arbitrary proposal was the entirely unfounded suspicion that Williams had carried off the famous Welsh cross.

For some months no further steps were taken in the matter. At last (April 24th), a committee, composed of members of Parliament, was appointed, empowered "to receive orders from time to time of any movements of superstition or idolatry in the Abbey Church of Westminster, or in the windows thereof, with power to demolish the same" On May 31st an order was given to burn the copes, and sell the gold and tissue work upon them ; the proceeds from the sale were to be distributed amongst the poor Protestants in Ireland. The same day companies of the trained bands, under Colonel More, were ordered to go and search the Deanery, the church itself, and all other places in the precincts, a plot being suspected. Trunks containing plate, money, arms, and am-

munition were found in the Abbey and precincts, and the soldiers made a thorough search in the cloisters, including a house there tenanted by a Mr. Tomkins, secretary to the council. The troops entered the church, "put the organs out of tune, and pulled down the rayles, turned the Communion Table from standing alterwise, and defaced some superstitious pictures upon the screne." This probably gave rise to the story current in Royalist circles afterwards, and printed in the "Mercurius Rusticus," 1685, accusing the soldiers belonging to Welshbourne and Cawood's companies of all sorts of sacrileges and depredations committed that July in the Abbey. The date alone makes the story an impossible one, since the Westminster Assembly was actually sitting in the Abbey during July, and soldiers playing hare-and-hounds, or drinking and smoking all about them, would scarcely have been tolerated. It is certain, however, that Sir Robert Harley pulled down the beautiful altar made by Torrigiano, with its brittle terra-cotta figures, which was then erroneously called the monument of Edward VI., and broke it into pieces. On June 3rd the threatened inroad into the Treasury was made, and the crown and royal vestments taken out, the door being "made fast again."

Anthony à Wood tells an amusing, but probably unfounded anecdote, about Marten's behaviour with regard to the regalia. He says that "he forced open a great iron chest within the College of Westminster, and thence took out the crown, robes, sword, and scepter belonging antiently to King Edward the Confessor, and used by all our kings at their inaugurations, and with a scorn greater than his lusts and the rest of his vices, he openly declared that there should be no further use of these toyes, trifles, etc. And in the jollity of that humour, he invested George Wither (an old Puritan satyrist) in the royal habilments, who, being crown'd and royally array'd (as well became him), did first march about the room with a stately garb, and afterwards with a thousand apish and ridiculous actions exposed those sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter."

In August (1643) came a peremptory order to the sub-

dean and chapter commanding them to grant "the free use and liberty of their pulpit for such ministers to preach every Sunday afternoon as shall be appointed by the House." Although the chapter was not formally superseded by a committee for two years more, yet there is no further notice of any orders to the sub-dean, and it was probably at this time, while a bill for the suppression of all deans and chapters was actually under discussion, that Heylin left his post. He retired to his country living of Alresford till he was driven away, and remained more or less in hiding afterwards throughout the Commonwealth: his name does not occur in the annals of the Abbey again till after the Restoration. Charles I. appointed a new dean on Williams's resignation in 1644—Dr. Richard Stewart, one of the prebendaries, who never came into residence at the Deanery, but died in exile at Paris, 1651.

The feelings of the Royalists were outraged this winter (1643), when their arch enemy, the great patriot Pym, was actually buried within the sacred precincts of the Abbey Church, the first of the "Roundheads" here interred. Osbaldeston, the only prebendary in favour with the Commons, officiated in Heylin's place.

Pym passed peacefully away at Derby House, Canon Row, on December 8th, assuring the weeping friends round his death-bed that "he had looked death in the face and knew and therefore feared not the worst it could do." While Parliament "so highly honours the memory of Master Pym, that they have ordered a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey, and the House of Commons have appointed themselves to accompany the corpse to the grave," the Cavaliers at Oxford gave a great feast to celebrate their enemy's death. Parliament enacted also that no charge was to be made for breaking the ground for Pym's grave, which was made in the North Ambulatory, beneath Sir John Windsore's gravestone, whence his body was torn at the Restoration. Clarendon speaks of the wonderful pomp and magnificence of this funeral.

During the last six months of this year the Westminster Assembly of Divines, called together in order to

revise the liturgy and the government of the Church of England, were meeting daily in the Abbey precincts. They first assembled on July 1st (1643), in the choir, where service was held, and a sermon preached by Dr. Twisse,* the prolocutor, before a large congregation, which included both Houses of Parliament. Afterwards sixty-nine out of the hundred and forty divines and "lay persons" went up to Henry VII.'s Chapel, where they continued to sit till the cold at the end of September drove them from the unwarmed church to the warm Jerusalem Chamber.

Dean Stanley has well summed up the result of these long and tedious theological discussions. "For five years, six months and twenty-two days, through one thousand, one hundred, and sixty-three sessions, the Chapel of Henry VII. and the Jerusalem Chamber witnessed their weary labours. Out of these walls came the Directory, the Longer and Shorter Catechism, and that famous Confession of Faith which, alone within these islands, was imposed by law in the whole kingdom, and which, alone of all Protestant confessions, still, in spite of its sternness and narrowness, retains a hold on the minds of its adherents."

The year 1644 began badly for the chapter. On January 13th a committee, composed of sixteen (afterwards increased to twenty) members, was appointed, in order to inquire into the state of the Abbey; the result of this was that on February 28th the daily services were superseded by half-hourly "morning exercises" from 7.30 to 8 o'clock a.m. Seven ministers, including the well-known chaplain of the Parliamentary army, Stephen Marshall, who had preached Pym's funeral sermon, were selected to officiate, instead of the absent prebendaries. Dorothy Osborne, whose charming love letters to her future husband, Sir William Temple, have been published, has left an account of one of these morning exercises, written in her usual lively style. "I was near laughing yesterday when I should not. Could you believe that I had the

* Twisse died in 1646, and was buried in the south transept "near the Poore's table next the vestry door," but his remains were exhumed, and flung into a pit with the other Commonwealth people at the Restoration.

grace to go and hear a sermon upon a week-day? It is true, and Mr. Marshall was the preacher. He is so famed that I expected vast things from him, and seriously I listened to him at first with as much reverence as if he had been St. Paul. But what do you think he told us? Why, that if there were no kings, no lords, no ladies, no gentlemen or gentlewomen in the world, it would be no loss at all to the Almighty. This he said over forty times, which made me remember it whether I would or not." This letter was written when Dorothy was a young and lovely girl of fifteen, long before she met her dry and serious husband, Sir William, even before she flirted with Henry Cromwell. Fifty-one years later (in 1695) she was carried to her grave in this same church, where she had listened and laughed at the Independent minister's sermons, and on a tablet in the nave will be found a record of the burials of herself, her husband, daughter, and sister-in-law.

Not content with establishing the Presbyterian mode of worship here, Parliament further decreed that all persons belonging to the Abbey were to take the solemn league and covenant in the church on April 27th at 4 p.m. Also that the brass and iron in Henry VII.'s Chapel were to be taken down and sold—an order which was not carried out. All the Royalist clergy had left the dangerous precincts, but a certain number of officials and servants remained, and some difficulty now arose as to the payment of their wages. Sir Robert Harley, the destroyer of Torrigiano's altar, seems to have kept what plate he found, for in May he was ordered to give it up to be melted down, the proceeds to be handed over to the committee "to be used for the Church and given to such servants, workmen, and others as they shall think fit." Later on (October 9th), the "superstitious plate" found with the regalia was ordered to be melted, and sold to buy horses for the Parliamentary army.

A year after, so troublesome had all the small details constantly cropping up with regard to the internal government of the church become that, by an ordinance dated November 18th, 1645, a committee of eleven Lords and about twenty-two Com-

mons was formed "for the better ordering, directing, and disposing of the rents, issues, and profits belonging to the College and Collegiate Church of Westminster." The dean and prebends had all, except Osbaldeston, been declared delinquents, and they were now formally suspended. Full control over the income belonging to the chapter was granted to this committee; the only stipulation made was that the houses and estates were not to be let for longer than three years (this was afterwards extended to twenty-one). New officials, servants, and almsmen were to be appointed to fill the numerous vacancies, and the committee, or seven members of it, were to take the place of the dean in the annual election of Westminster scholars to both universities, in conjunction with the head-master of the school and the master of Trinity, Cambridge. Two hundred pounds annually were to be given for the support of Sunday sermons, and fifty pounds apiece to the seven daily preachers, who were each to have a prebendal house; the others were let. The daily preaching was commended as "a work much tending to the glory of God and comfort of the inhabitants of Westminster and places adjacent." There were also preachers appointed for special occasions, such as the opening of Parliament, and days of humiliation, or of thanksgiving for Parliamentary victories.

On March 29th, 1648, the committee of "Westminster College"* are ordered to take care that "there be preaching in the Abbey on Fast days," and "that they take some effectual course to restrain walking by any person or persons in the Abbey, the Cloyster, or Churchyard during divine service, and to restrain the playing of children or others in any part of the said places in any time of the Lord's Day, to the prophanation thereof." This very necessary rule, strictly followed in our own day, was relaxed after the Restoration, and the schoolboys used to play racquets in the cloisters and football in the "Garth" (the Cloister Green), where also their great fights came off. When Dean Stanley, as a boy, first visited the Abbey,

* "College" is used here and elsewhere for the Abbey; it is the proper term for the capitulary or collegiate body.

he was shown Poets' Corner during service, then the usual custom ; but now the old Puritan rule is again enforced, and the church is not open to visitors in service time.

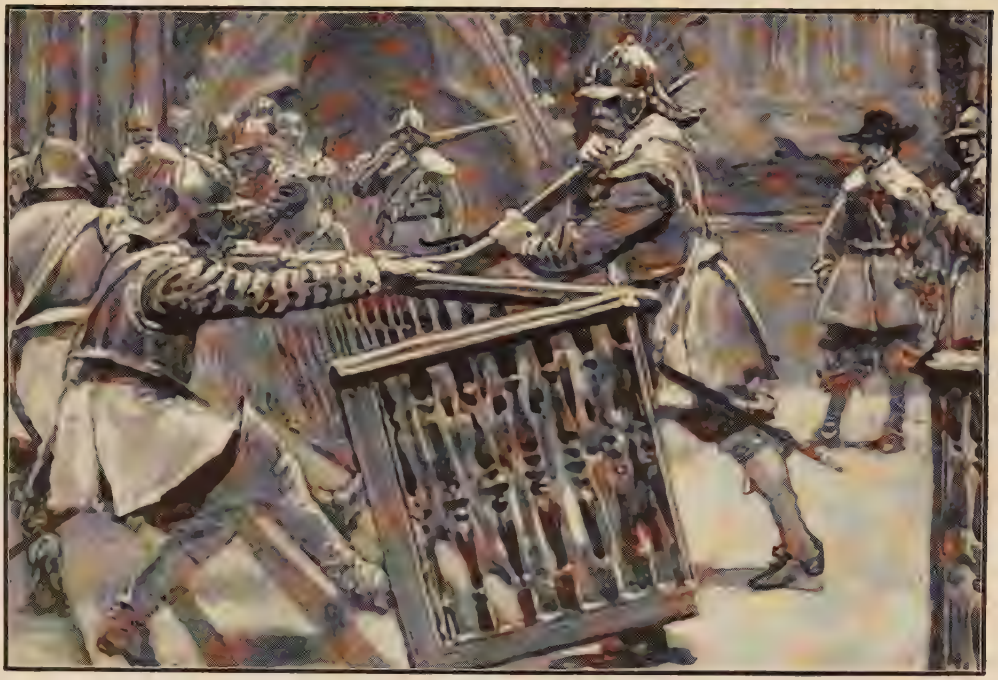
The Westminster Committee was very active, and there are constant orders in the journals of the House of Commons about the Abbey during the Commonwealth. In March, 1647, they are given authority to call in the rents due to the chapter, and to punish all who disobey their orders. In 1649, the government of the school and almshouses was by Act of Parliament vested in fifty-six governors, and various rents belonging to the dean were settled on these bodies. The committee also considered some provisions for the repair and maintenance of the fabric. The annual sum spent at this time on the school, almshouses, weekly alms, preachers, lecturers, fabric, etc., was computed at £1,900.

Throughout the troublous years of the great rebellion, the school continued to flourish under the government of the redoubtable Dr. Busby, who was head-master from 1640 to 1695. Such was the terror his severe presence and birch-rod inspired even in the iron bosoms of the Independents, that, in spite of his Royalist opinions, and of vain efforts made to dislodge him by two under-masters, Bagshawe and Price, he kept his post here. The school was, in fact, so renowned for its loyalty, that Owen (later on Dean of Christ Church) who preached in the Abbey the day of Charles I.'s execution, declared it would never be well with the nation till it was suppressed. South, who was a boy at this time, afterwards declared in a sermon that "on that very day, that black and eternally infamous day of the King's murder, I myself heard, and am now a witness, that the King was publicly prayed for in this school but an hour or two at most before his sacred head was struck off." In the same sermon the loyal prebendary bore testimony to the constant fidelity of the school "to that glorious motto of its royal foundress, *Semper Eadem*, the temper and genius of it being neither to be tempted with promises nor controlled with threats; . . . we really were King's scholars as well as called so." Yet all around the Parliament was paramount and the

brutal Colonel Humphreys even outraged the feelings of masters and boys by coming into the College Hall at dinner-time on the day of Charles's execution, and boasting that "the work was done." A scholar, Robert Uvedale, afterwards revenged himself by snatching an escutcheon from Cromwell's hearse.

Meantime the church was given over to the Presbyterians, who were not abashed when Samuel Baxter delivered his bold discourse against "the vain and formal religion of the hypocrite" from this pulpit. Amongst the ministers here were Philip Nye, one of the chief agents concerned in bringing the Covenant across the border; John Bond (son of Dennis Bond, who was a member of the committee), afterwards master of the Savoy and Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Stanton, "the Walking Concordance," who became president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and Herle, second prolocutor of the Assembly.

After Marshall, perhaps the most striking preacher was William Strong, who, on December 9th, 1650, was appointed the first pastor of an Independent congregation which began to meet at that time in the Abbey Church. This congregation, which was formed just before Cromwell became Protector, and is said at first to have met in the House of Lords, was composed of members of Parliament, and "persons of quality" living in Westminster, including Bradshaw, the regicide, then lessee of the Deanery. These worshippers, says Calamy, were "persons of better judgment than to choose a man of mere noise and words for their pastor." On Strong's death (1654), Rowe, an Oxford man, assisted by Seth Ward, carried on his ministry; his sermons were "much attended, and by persons of all persuasions," Quakers amongst them. Both he and Ward were ejected and silenced at the Restoration. Strong and Marshall expired within a year of one another (1654-5), and were buried in the South Ambulatory, but, so obnoxious had they made themselves to the Royalists, that their remains were disinterred in 1661.



PARLIAMENTARIAN TROOPS IN THE ABBEY.
(*See p.* 246.)

ROYALIST CELEBRATIONS AT OXFORD ON PYM'S DEATH.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FUNERALS OF MEN OF NOTE UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE.

Since the funeral of Pym, in 1643, many other Parliamentary dignitaries had been honourably buried in the Abbey, some of whom were military men and received their death wounds in the battles of the great Civil War. Near the Elizabethan warrior Lord Norris, Colonel Meldrum, mortally wounded at Cheriton Heath in March, 1644, was buried on April 18th. In the next month a simple Yorkshire lieutenant, Theodorus Paleologus, received a grave close by the colonel, probably on account of the boasted descent of his family from the last Palæologus who reigned over the Greek empire. Strangely enough, a Royalist and court official was buried in the North Ambulatory in January, 1645, probably unnoticed in the confusion reigning here at that time, before the committee took charge of the church. This was Sir Robert Anstruther, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James I., Privy Councillor to Charles I., and much employed on diplomatic missions abroad during both reigns. Soon afterwards two Parliamentary colonels, Boscawen and Carter, were interred "between the choristers' seats in the midst of the quier." Boscawen, the only one considered worth disinterring by the Royalists, had joined the Parliamentary army with a troop of horse composed of his own Cornish tenants.

A year later a far more famous soldier, also disinterred at the Restoration, was to intrude into the little Chapel of St. John the Baptist, where the bones of several abbots lay. This was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the great commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary army, who died on September 14th. After more than a month had been spent in elaborate preparations, the general was given a state funeral on October 22nd, 1646. Within the church, ar-

rangements were made by the heralds to accommodate the Lords and Commons, the judges, the city dignitaries, and the militia committee, also for "the assembly of divines, the commanders and captains under Sir William Walter, and all other the commanders and mourners." The Lords ordered Captain Falconbridge, Laurence Sweetenham, and two justices of the peace "to keep out the multitude, and all women of any quality whatsoever"; probably on account of the limited space available within the church —as so often in our own day—for the immense throng of official mourners. The stewards and constables of Westminster were also commanded "at their perils to pave and cleanse the streets from Temple Bar to the west end of the Abbey Church against the day of the funeral, that the Lords and Commons and all others might pass in the streets without inconvenience, by reason of the foulness of the ways." This was a very necessary provision, since the streets and lanes of Westminster were renowned then, and for many a long year afterwards, for their dirt and inconvenience to foot-passengers.

An eye-witness, who afterwards wrote a tract called the "Perfect Relation of the Memorable Funerals of Robert, Earl of Essex and Ewe," has given an interesting account of the construction of Essex's vault, which was about "2½ yards long, a yard ½ broad, and height proportionate, arched over with freestone," situated near Lord Hunsdon's. The present modern gravestone was placed over it by Dean Stanley. The Royalists, who had wreaked their vengeance on the hearse, seem to have forgotten the fact that their enemy Essex's bones lay here, since his body was left in peace at the Restoration. When "the earth (was) broken to make a vault for a burial place for his excellency," a wooden crosier was found in the place where "had been buried Bohon, Abbot of Westminster, who, as I take it, died temper Richard II." This is probably a mistake for Millyng, whose coffin had already been dug up in this chapel; but of the several abbots buried here, it is hard to decide to whom the crosier had belonged.

A grand hearse, "with a canopy on pillars about twelve feet high, gilt with gold and hung with velvet,

ornamented with the escocheons of arms of the earl," was erected near the Communion table, *i.e.* in the centre of the church under the lantern. The Abbey was draped in black as for a royal funeral, and the seats and pavement were concealed by cloth of the same sombre hue. In order to carry out every ancient custom connected with the burials of royal or noble persons in former times, an effigy of the late earl lay in state for many days at Essex House.

On the funeral* day five regiments of trained bands lined the streets from Essex House, the brilliant colours of their uniforms—green, white, yellow, and red—in striking contrast to the general mourning. About two o'clock the regiment of horse, which led the funeral procession, began to march to the Abbey, and the endless train of mourners, all on foot, slowly defiled after them, but the order was somewhat spoilt by "the multitude of people and the foulness of the street," which forced those who bore the armour and bannerols out of their ranks. In the midst the earl's effigy was "drawn in an open chariot of black velvet, with six horses covered with black velvet to the ground, adorned and garnished with plumes, shafferons, escocheons, and compartments of his Lordship's arms." Ten commanders, including Major Oliver Cromwell, carried the effigy to and from the hearse. Behind this followed the Peers and Commons, the latter led by the Speaker, with his mace-bearer. Owing to the slow progress of the procession and the lengthy service, it was seven o'clock at night before the funeral was over. "As soon as the funeral sermon, preached by Mr. Vynes, was ended and the 3 officers of his Lordship's household had broken their staves and other ceremonies in the Church performed, and that the Trumpets had sounded according to custome at such great solemnities of Funeralls, order was immediately given for the great Bell at St. Margaret's Church to knoll thrice, which gave a signall to Mr. Ward, a gentleman of the ordnance, who was placed in the highest Tower of the Abbey Church." He showed a

* See for above details, and those that follow, a tract in the British Museum—"The true manner and form of the funerall of the . . . . Earl of Essex," 1646, also "Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex."

"great globe-lantern," and all the cannon at all the forts round fired a volley, taken up and answered by the pistols of the trained bands from the Abbey to Essex House.

Owing to the large number of soldiers, the Royalists were unable to show their annoyance at the quasi-royal burial of their late enemy on the funeral day ; but about five weeks later they revenged themselves by destroying the hearse, which was left in "the upper part of the Abbey," probably in one of the chapels of the apse. Amongst the Kings' Pamphlets in the British Museum is an amusing account of this outrage. It seems that on November 26th, when the clock-keeper locked up the church at 7 p.m., the hearse was intact. On Friday morning, the 27th, he opened the doors as usual about 5 o'clock. "After which some men of the Trayne (trained) Band, who stood at the doore, as he opened the north doore (who were to waite on the Parliament House that day), seeing it opened, one of them said to the rest, that if they would go into the Abbey they might see the Earle of Essex his Hearse. 'May we?' so said another, 'Yea,' said he, 'Any man may see the Hearse for the doore is open,' which accordingly they did, entering with an expectation to see it as aforesaid. When they came to the place, where this Noble Lord's Effugies lay, they were much amazed seeing it broken and rent in this manner.

"The Belringer seeing this strange accident was no little astonished, about 6 of the clock he called up some other officers of that place, who coming thither found all things in a barbarous disorder, as is before exprest, and the lock of the place (where the Hearse stood) broken, . . . by search of the other monuments they found the good ould Chambden's (Camden) monument (who was King of Armes) defased, the nose of the Effugies cut off, the ruffes about his neck hacked and cut, his Britania (in his hand) hacked and cut, and the end of some of his fingers cut off. It is supposed that there were a company of villaines . . . that lay in some of the pewes all night and when the doores were locked, and the bell ringer gone to bed, that then they did this villany, and when the doores were opened in the morning (it being

CROMWELL AT IRETON'S FUNERAL.
(*See p.* 261.)

CROMWELL'S FUNERAL.

(*See p.* 265.)

dark) when hee had opened one door and was going to another they might easily escape away. The abbey hath been formerly robbed and Copes and other things stollen out, and the bell-ringer hearing them in the night rung the bell though hee durst not venture amongst them, yet afterwards they were discovered, and taken and hanged at Tiburn. And perhaps these also may be discovered and brought to knowledge . . . It was intended within three or four days that the Hearse should have been taken down and his Effugies put in a presse amongst the other tombs, as the Duke of *Lenexs* and others are. And therefore upon this mischance the parts of his Effugies and Clothes was the said Friday removed and locked in the inner roomes amongst the Tombes. From whence the workmen that made it have carried it away to renue it compleat againe, and prepare it to stand in a press as aforesaid. And it will very suddenly be set up compleat amongst the monuments in Westminster Abby in Souldier's habit and Parliamentary Robes. The Hearse hath been taking down Friday and Saturday and so till finished, and the Flags to hang over the place where the Corps was buried."

The day (January 30th, 1649) of the execution of that "White King" whose coronation had been celebrated with so much magnificence, passed without leaving any mark in the Abbey annals. On two monuments alone is the name of Charles I. mentioned, and upon one of these his execution is alluded to. This is the tablet in St. John the Baptist's Chapel which commemorates Thomas Cary, the Earl of Monmouth's son, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles, who is said to have died of grief at his master's fate in the same year. The other monument records the burial of Dame Mary James, in the north aisle of the choir ; she was daughter of Sir Robert Killigrew, "sometime Vice-Chamberlain to Mary, Queen of England, and wife of his Sacred Majesty King Charles I. of blessed memory." It is curious to note the familiar use of "Mary" for the Queen, whom we are now accustomed to speak of more formally as Henrietta Maria : she was usually called Mary by her English subjects.

Five days before the execution, the Deanery was

granted on lease to Bradshaw, the President of that Council which condemned the King to death. The committee ordered that "the dean's house in Westminster Abbey be provided and furnished for the lodging of the Lord President, his servants, guards, and attendants." So it was actually from the precincts of the royal church that this destroyer of a king went forth day by day to sit in judgment at his Sovereign's trial. Bradshaw had an iron will and stern sense of duty, and the stories afterwards invented by the Royalists about his repentance and superstitious fears are absolutely groundless. For ten years he inhabited the Deanery, and a small chamber in the south-west belfry tower, which had been fitted up by the chapter as a muniment room in Dean Williams's time, but never used for that purpose, is said to have been occupied by Bradshaw as a study, and stocked with books. Here, according to a Royalist tradition, he took refuge from his enemies and his own terror of their revenge; his ghost was supposed to haunt the triforium passage close by, walking ever in restless remorse. Dean Stanley says that "a round piece of timber was long shown as Bradshaw's rack," but this was really part of the machinery used for building the towers in the eighteenth century. "A recess called Cromwell's seat, probably from some confusion with Bradshaw, exists in the vaults beneath the College Hall."

Bradshaw died peacefully in his bed, under the Deanery roof, on October 31st, 1659, after having suffered for more than a year from a "quartain ague." His body was probably embalmed, as the funeral did not take place for three weeks, and on November 22nd it was interred in "a superb tomb amongst the kings" in Henry VII.'s Chapel, with much state and ceremony. Rowe, the minister, since 1654, of the Independent congregation to which Bradshaw belonged, preached the funeral sermon. The registers pass over the burial of this great Republican in silence, the entry having been no doubt defaced. The body was not suffered to rest here, for scarcely over a year had passed before it was ignominiously disinterred.

During the ten years spent by the President of the Council at the Deanery many of his friends and political

adherents were buried under the shadow of the Abbey. The first to die of those concerned in the King's trial was the advocate, Isaac Dorislaus. He was assassinated by a Royalist at The Hague, whither he had been sent by Parliament on an embassy, on May 13th (1649). By order of the Council of State his remains were brought over and interred* in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel on June 14th. The Lord-General (Cromwell), the Members of the House of Commons, and the Council of State all attended the funeral, which was conducted with such military honours as were considered suitable to an ambassador. Cromwell, in fact, never omitted an opportunity of following ancient and royal precedent by state funerals in the Abbey, thereby infringing the Puritan rule of simple church services and annoying the Independent party. When, in the next year, Thomas May, historian and secretary to the Long Parliament, died, the Council ordered an Abbey funeral for him also, and "a convenient monument, the charges not to exceed £100," was put up by their order over his grave in Poets' Corner. May, Davenant's unsuccessful rival for the laureateship, was said to have taken the Parliamentary side on account of his disappointment, and the Royalists never omitted a gibe at him. His white marble monument, with an inscription by Marchmont Needham, and a written Royalist reply pinned to it, was destroyed at the Restoration; Dr. Triplett's monument now covers the place.

On October 24th, 1651—the thanksgiving day appointed for the Royalist defeat at Worcester (September 3rd)—Colonel Edward Popham, one of the chief admirals of the Parliamentary fleet, was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Cromwell and the members of Parliament attending the funeral. When his body shared the fate of the other Independent generals at the Restoration, the monument, which was moved to St. John the Baptist's Chapel, was actually allowed to remain, on condition that the inscription was effaced. This favour was obtained from the king by his wife's relations the Carrs, "who had eminently served his majesty," and Keepe

* Disinterred at the Restoration.

and Dart both repeat a story, which was invented by the Pophams' friends, to the effect that "the stone was only turned whereon the inscription was inculpt." It is also said that Popham's body was carried away by his relations, and not flung into the pit with the rest. Only six days after Popham's funeral, another adherent of the Parliamentary party, Thomas Hesilrige, brother of Sir Arthur Hesilrige, received honourable burial amidst the kings.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CROMWELL AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE ABBEY.

BEFORE many months had passed, Cromwell stood as principal mourner by the grave of his son-in-law, Henry Ireton, which was probably the same vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel where other members of his family, including himself, were afterwards interred. Ireton died of the plague in Ireland (November, 1651), and his body was brought over to Somerset House, where it lay till February 6th, in a room hung with black ; over the entrance gate was an escutcheon with his arms and a motto : " Dulce est pro patria mori " upon it, which was interpreted by the Royalist wits as " It is good for his country that he is dead." Cromwell walked at the head of the stately procession, which defiled, says Evelyn, " in a very solemn manner " to the Abbey. Ireton was worthy of the honour he received, and his best eulogy is in the funeral sermon entitled " The labouring saint's dismission to his rest," preached over his open grave by Owen, the puritan Dean of Christ Church. So great was the ostentatious display, that some of the money set apart for the memorial was spent on the funeral, and long afterwards (March 3rd, 1654) a complaint to this effect was made by an engraver in stone, who had only received £67 10s. of the £120 owing him for the monument, which was then finished and ready to be set up in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The excuse given to the man was that the money voted had not been sufficient to pay the funeral expenses ; but on March 13th the sum wanting, £52 10s., was deposited till the monument should be erected, which was afterwards destroyed.

This year (1652) lodgings were assigned to members of Parliament in such of the prebendal houses as were not used by the ministers, and Sir Roger North lived for

some time in Little Cloisters. Probably amongst these new inmates was Humphrey Salwey, who was buried with some state in the "Chapel of the Kings" on December 20th. Salwey held the official post of "Remembrancer of the Public Exchequer," and was a member of the Long Parliament, but, as Colonel Chester points out, he had refused to sit in judgment with the other regicides at the King's trial, and the disinterment of his bones at the Restoration was therefore scarcely fair.

The bones of the other Parliamentary officers honourably buried here in the next few years—Deane, Mackworth, Constable, and Blake—were also ruthlessly flung into the common pit by the royal command. Admiral Blake was the greatest of them all, and even Clarendon, his political enemy, approves of the splendid funeral by which Cromwell showed his appreciation of the admiral's merits :—

"He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be ; and to encourage his officers to venture their lives that they might be pompously buried, he was with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's Chapel among the monuments of the kings." A vault was built specially for Blake's coffin, and, in fact, nothing was omitted which could make the admiral's burial worthy of his reputation.

Two other distinguished Parliamentary officers already lay in the royal chapel. The one, Sir William Constable (died 1655), had been made a baronet by James I., yet his conscience had driven him to take arms against James's son, and he was actually one of those who signed the death warrant. His bones were, naturally enough, not excepted from the fate of his friends in 1661, and his estates were excluded from the general pardon granted to the heirs of the regicides. Upon his grave the next summer (June, 1656) stood the mourners at the funeral of the General Worsley who had had charge of the Speaker's mace when "that bauble" was taken from the table of the Long Parliament. "Worsley died before he could be good in his office, and was

buried (June 13th) with the dirges of bell, book, and candle, and the peale of musquets in no less a repository than Henry VII.'s Chapel as became a prince of the modern erection, and Oliver's great and rising favourite" (Heath's "Chronicle").

At all these funerals during the Commonwealth, the ministers of the Presbyterian Church officiated, but in April of this year (1656) the Church of England service was read for the first and only time since the dean and chapter were suspended. This was at the funeral of the royalist Archbishop of Armagh, James Usher, who was honourably buried in the Abbey by Cromwell's own express desire.

With Cromwell himself, and with his family, the Abbey is intimately associated. Though not actually installed on the spot where all the sovereigns have been crowned, yet, lest the ceremony should want for any solemnity, the stone of Scone and coronation chair were carried to Westminster Hall, on the day (June 26th, 1657) when Oliver assumed the title of Lord Protector.

Stern Republican as he professed himself, Cromwell was not, as we have seen, averse to all pomp, and he irritated the Independents by his lavish expenditure of the public money on state, and even private, ceremonials. Thus when his aged mother died (November 18th, 1654) he gave her a magnificent funeral, and buried her with much state amongst the kings. This, too, in spite of the homely country lady's dying request that she might have a private funeral, and not lie in the Abbey. Jane Desborough, Cromwell's sister, and the wife of one of his generals, was buried with her mother early in 1656, and disinterred with her at the Restoration.

One member alone of Cromwell's family was suffered to rest in peace in her solitary grave in the royal chapel: perhaps her body was overlooked because the place of her sepulchre was forgotten, for she lies apart from the rest on the north side. This is the Protector's favourite daughter, Elizabeth, the wife of John Claypole, his Master of the Horse. Both parties alike united in the praise of this charming woman, and the Royalists found excuses for their partiality in stories, which are probably

mere fabrications, of her remonstrances with her father on the guilt of his conduct shortly before her death, remonstrances which they said broke the stern man's heart. The sight of her terrible physical sufferings was alone enough to break the heart of so tender a father, and true it is that he fell into a deep melancholy after her death, and did not long survive her. She died at Hampton Court, August 6th, 1658, aged only twenty-eight, and her body was removed thence to the Painted Chamber, where it lay in state for four days. She was buried on the night of August 10th, in a vault made on purpose for her, with great funeral pomp—her aunt, Mrs. Wilkins, wife of the future Bishop of Chester, walking as chief mourner. On the last day of the same month Denis Bond was interred here, the last of the Parliamentary magnates before the end of the Protectorate, with the exception of Cromwell and Bradshaw (1659), who found a temporary grave in the Abbey.

On September 3rd, a day looked upon by Cromwell as his lucky day, the anniversary of two victories, Dunbar and Worcester, the great Protector passed away. He died nominally of ague, like Bradshaw the following year, but really his end was accelerated by his domestic sorrow. Preparations were made for a grand state funeral, which took place on November 23rd, with, as the Royalist Cowley said, "a more than regal splendour." The cost, £60,000, exceeded by one-half that expended at James I.'s burial; the expenses were paid by Parliament to Richard Cromwell, who spent more than he received, and involved himself in a hopeless sea of debt. The embalmed body was removed from Whitehall on September 26th to Somerset House, where it lay in state, exposed to public view, from the 18th of October to the funeral day. Ludlow has given a sarcastic account of this regal lying-in-state, which he declares was designed by Kinnersley, Master of the Wardrobe, who was suspected of Popish tendencies, to imitate that of Philip II., and typified two months spent by the soul in purgatory before it was admitted to heaven.

The following account of the funeral is a translation made from an Italian manuscript in the Foreign Office,

a despatch written by Bernardi, the Genoese envoy, who was present, to his Government. "The gentlemen invited to the said funeral exceeded in number 1,500, to whom his Highness (Richard Cromwell) had sent robes for themselves and their attendants, who were still more numerous. All these were gathered at exactly 3 hours before midday at Somerset House . . . the road from there to the Abbey was partitioned off and guarded by soldiers, drawn up so that none could pass in the middle space except those who were invited, the City Companies (with their insignia draped in black) and the drummers in mourning robes. The effigy or statue of the Dead, made most life like which up to that day had been laid out on the bed, was set up on its feet upright under a canopy, in royal robes, crown on head, in one hand the sceptre and in the other the globe. An hour after midday it was laid on a bier richly adorned and carried down under a canopy by twelve persons to where a coach was waiting, made for the purpose open on every side, in which it was laid. The head of the coach was adorned with many plumes and banners covered with black velvet without and within, and all round it were hangings of velvet, 10 palms wide, which were borne by lords of quality, and two chamberlains sat, one at the head and one at the feet of the effigy. The said coach was drawn by six horses adorned in like manner with many plumes and covered entirely except the eyes, with black velvet, which hung almost to the ground, the driver and postilions in long robes of the same. All being in order the King at Arms sent his heralds to bid those above descend, beginning with those of lowest rank. The first division were 60 poor men, as many as the Dead had lived years, all newly clad in long robes of black and two banners with them."

Then follows a list of the long procession, which included the Lords and Commons, the Judges, the Foreign Ambassadors, and in fact all the officials in any way connected with the Government. In the midst came the effigy upon "the coach above described, accompanied by many heralds at arms with many banners, ten trumpeters on horseback in black

who trumpeted most dolorously, the velvet hangings, which on every side hung down to the ground, being carried by the lords of quality. Then followed the Governor of the city of London who acted as serene Protector, in which was shewn great honour and favour to the city."

From the official account printed in the Parliamentary history a few more facts are gleaned. "Lord" Claypole led "the horse of honour in very rich trappings, embroidered upon crimson velvet and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, the colours of the Trained Bands." Except for this spot of colour, and for the uniforms of the halberdiers, and troops of horse, the long train of mourners, which took several hours passing by, were all in black, "the nobler sort in close mourning." "The whole ceremony was managed with very great state to Westminster, many thousands of people being spectators. At the west gate of the Abbey Church the herse, with the effigies thereon, was taken off the chariot by those ten gentlemen who removed it before, who passing on to enter the church, the canopy of state was by the same persons borne over it again, and in this magnificent manner they carried it into King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at the east end of the Abbey, and placed it in a superb structure, raised there on purpose to receive it, built in the same form as one before had been on the like occasion for King James but much more stately, where it remained for some time exposed to public view."

Evelyn and Cowley, both staunch Royalists, who stood among the crowd of spectators that day, give their own impressions of this, to them, happy event, "the joyfullest funeral that ever I saw," as Evelyn calls it. "There was none that cried but dogs, which soldiers hooted away with as barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went." Cowley's sarcastic account, in his essay on Cromwell's government, is a noble piece of prose, but it is too long to quote here.

Thus with pageantry and pomp closes an era in the history of England, and a strange period in the annals

of the Abbey, when neither abbot nor dean ruled. With Oliver Cromwell's death the Presbyterian reign was practically ended, for before two years had passed, the king had come back to Westminster, and the Church of England was restored.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RESTORATION.

With the Restoration, the dean and chapter were reinstated. Charles II. had already granted the Deanery to his chaplain and tutor, Dr. John Earle, and he was installed some time in the summer of 1660. Such of the prebendaries, amongst them our old friend Peter Heylin, as had survived the troubles of the Civil War, returned to their posts, and on July 5th four new ones were installed. But the changes in the ritual had to be gradually accomplished, and Pepys, who diligently went to the services at this time, has left some amusing reminiscences on the subject. In July he attended the afternoon service, but found "no Common Prayer yet." In September he went to hear John Rowe, the Independent minister, who had succeeded William Strong, preach his farewell sermon—a fact which shows that the Independent congregation was not dispossessed all at once. "Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that He would imprint the word on the thumbs of our right hands, and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afraid, and I wished myself out." On October 4th, for the first time for many years, bishops in their robes were seen at the Abbey, when Dr. Frewen was translated to the see of York, so unusual a sight that (Pepys tells us) they were much stared at. "Lord! at their going out how people did look again at them as strange creatures and few with any kind of respect." Three days later the diarist hears the Church Service read at the Abbey "but very ridiculously," with a "poor cold sermon," from one of the canons. Pepys desired to be present on October 28th, at the consecration of five

bishops ; but when he had pushed his way round by the cloisters with much difficulty, he could not get into Henry VII.'s Chapel at all. On November 4th Pepys hears the organ at the Abbey for the first time "in a cathedral," showing that the music and choral service was now going on again as in the days of Williams. The consecrations he records were the first of a long series, for there were only nine bishops alive, and most of the sees were vacant. Westminster Abbey was a convenient place in which to consecrate the new prelates : amongst them was Nicholas Monk, a brother of the General's, who was consecrated Bishop of Hereford (January, 1661).

The first royal functions in the Abbey for a score or more years were the funerals of the new king's younger brother—Henry, Duke of Gloucester ; and of his eldest sister—Mary, Princess of Orange, mother of William III. Both died of small-pox, the one in September, the other in December, 1660. Henry had been imprisoned with his gentle young sister Elizabeth at Carisbrooke Castle after their father's execution, but was released and allowed to go abroad two years after her death. He had returned with his elder brother, and died at Whitehall Palace, where the same fate overtook the sister, who "came over to congratulate the happiness of her brother's miraculous restitution, when behold ! sickness arrests this royal princess, no bail being found by physic to defer the execution of her death." Mary died on December 24th, a few hours after making her will, in which she requests to be buried "next the Duke of Gloucester, my late dear brother." Five days later, at nine o'clock at night, her coffin was carried through the torch-lit streets, which were lined by a detachment of General Monk's guards, from Somerset House, where the body had been transferred, to the Abbey. The funeral procession was magnificent, as was fitting in honour of a king's daughter and a prince's widow. James, Duke of York, her second brother, was chief mourner, and the Lord Chancellor, the great Clarendon, was present with his purse- and mace-bearer walking before him, earls carried the pall, and baronets bore the canopy. The body was laid, according to Mary's desire,

in the vault of Mary, Queen of Scots, next Prince Henry's coffin.

The gloom which thus darkened the first months after Charles's return was still further intensified by an act of senseless vengeance, which shocked the moderates of both parties alike and is an everlasting stain on the restored king's memory. This was the insult paid to the remains of the three principal regicides—Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw. On December 4th, 1660, the House of Commons ordered their bodies to be "taken up, drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, there to be hanged up in their coffins for some time, and after that buried under the gallows." This sentence was scrupulously carried out, and, in order to give official sanction to the sacrilegious proceeding of opening a vault in the Abbey, the Speaker of the House of Commons, with his attendants, personally superintended the disinterment. Cromwell's body is described, by an eye-witness, as "very fresh embalmed," wrapped in a green cere-cloth, with a copper-gilt plate and inscription upon the breast; the coffin is said to have been a magnificent one. This plate passed into the possession of the Sergeant, who took up the body, from whom it has descended to the Marquis of Ripon. John Lewis, a stonemason, received seventeen shillings for opening the vault.

The bodies of the Protector and Ireton, both of which were embalmed, were taken up on the 26th or 27th of January (1661), and carried on separate carts to the Red Lion Inn, Holborn, where they remained till the morning of the 30th, the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution. Bradshaw's was brought early from the Abbey, and then all three coffins were taken on sledges to Tyburn, and the bodies were suspended on the gallows till sunset, when they were beheaded, and their trunks thrown into a hole under the gallows, and their heads set upon poles upon the top of Westminster Hall, where Oliver's long remained, for Sir Thomas Armstrong's was placed between his and Bradshaw's twenty-three years later.

Evelyn has recorded the facts in his journal, though somewhat inaccurately as regards dates. "This day, 30th of January, 1661," he says, "(O! the stupendous

and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcases of those arch-rebels Cromwell, Bradshaw (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the usurper) dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit, thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators."

This is not the place to discuss the various traditions which grew up about the great Protector's remains; it is enough to say that there is no reason to doubt the above account.

Not satisfied with wreaking his vengeance on these three regicides, Charles was determined that all who were connected with Cromwell should be turned out of the Abbey. By a warrant, dated September 9th, 1661, he ordered Dean Earle to cause the bodies of twenty-one* magnates of the Commonwealth, Puritan ministers, and relations of the Protector, to be forthwith taken up and buried in some place of the churchyard adjoining to the said church, which order was carried out on the 12th of the same month. There is no record of the exact spot where these remains were buried, though it was, according to tradition, near the two prebendal houses between the north transept and the west end. When, however, the ground between St. Margaret's and the Abbey was levelled and turfed over some years ago, a round space with a large number of bones lying in great disorder, instead of in ordinary graves like the rest there buried, was found north of the second and third buttresses on the west of the north transept, not in St. Margaret's Churchyard, as was supposed by some, but in the Abbey ground. There lie massed together the bones of divines like Dr. Twisse, and the pious ministers Marshall and

* Six of those persons interred under the Commonwealth who belonged to the Republican party were left undisturbed in their graves. These were: Elizabeth Claypole, Usher, Essex, George Wild, brother of the Baron of the Exchequer John Wild, probably General Worsley, and, lastly, Grace Scot, wife of the regicide Colonel Scot, who was executed in 1660. Her tablet, in the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, has a touching epitaph, written by the disconsolate widower.

Strong, with Admiral Blake, the Parliamentarians Pym, Denis Bond, and Strode, and one or two military men. Not only were the men of the Commonwealth thus rudely torn from their graves, but the women also. The Protector's mother, his sister, Jane Desborough, his granddaughter, Anne Fleetwood, daughter of another general, and a Mrs. Bradshaw, conjectured to be the regicide's wife, were disinterred and flung with the rest into the pit. Here let them rest henceforth undisturbed, with the grass growing over their heads, while within the Abbey their names may be seen inscribed on the stone in the Cromwell Chapel beneath which most of them were once buried.

On April 23rd, 1661, after many months had been spent in elaborate preparation, Charles II. was crowned "with the greatest solemnity and glory that ever had been seen in that kingdom." For the first time since the days of Queen Bess, the king rode, according to old custom, in procession from the Tower the day before. The next day—St. George's Day—Charles came by water to the Parliament steps, whence he walked to Westminster Hall, where, as in old days, the dean and canons met him, carrying the regalia, which, like their copes, was all new, though bearing the old names.

So long a time had elapsed, and so many of the court officials had died since the last coronation, that numerous questions of etiquette arose, Northumberland and Ossory quarrelling over which of them had the right to carry the insignia, while the king's footmen and the barons of the Cinque Ports disputed over the canopy. At four that morning the indefatigable Pepys had squeezed into the church in the wake of Sir John Denham, and got up on to a scaffold in the north transept, where he sat patiently till eleven, enjoying the sight of "the Abbey raised in the middle all covered with red and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstoole on the top of it, and all the officers of all kinds so much as the fiddlers in red coats. At last comes in the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster with the Bishops, many of them in cloth of gold copes,* and after them the

* These copes still exist, and were all made new for this coronation.

THE KING-AT-ARMS' PROCLAMATION AT THE CORONATION OF CHARLES II.
(*See p.* 273.)

FUNERAL OF ELIZABETH OF BOHEMIA.
(*See p.* 275.)

nobility all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke (Monk) and the King, with a sceptre, carried by Lord Sandwich, and sword and wand before him and the crowne too. The King in his robes, bare-headed, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves there was a sermon (by Morley, Bishop of Worcester) at the service, and then in the quire at the high altar the King passed through all the ceremonies of the coronation, which to my great grief I most in the Abbey could not see. The crowne being put upon his head a great shout began, and he came forth to the throne and there passed through more ceremonies, as taking the oath and having things read to him by the Bishopp and his lords (who put on their caps as soon as the King put on his crowne). And three times the King-at-Arms went to the three open places (south, west, and north sides) on the scaffold and proclaimed that if anyone could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a generall pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and medalls flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis of selver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I could make but little of the musique, and indeed it was lost to every body."

Evelyn gives a fuller account of the ceremony, at which he was also present, but in a more distinguished place than Pepys. He minutely describes the anointing, which was performed by old Archbishop Juxon, who was so indisposed and weak that Sheldon, Bishop of London, had to finish the service. The dean, according to the usual custom, assisted in the anointing, while Heylin, who had returned to his former office as sub-dean, "upon his knees presented the royal sceptre unto his Majesty, in whose exile to the utmost of his power he had exercised his pen in the defence both of the crown, sceptre, and mitre." Afterwards, "with the crowne imperial on his head, and accompanied with all the nobility in the former order, he (the King) went on foote upon blew cloth, which was spread and reach'd from ye west door of ye Abbey to Westminster stayres, where he took water

in a triumphal barge to Whitehall, where was extraordinary feasting." In the evening there was a violent thunderstorm, while the ordnance was still thundering from the Tower, and some guests, who were supping with the hospitable Heylin in the cloisters, were "much affrighted," but were consoled by the loyal sub-dean, who turned the bad omen into a happy prognostication by maintaining that the thunder was the ordnance of Heaven, rejoicing over Charles's accession.

Events at the Abbey now resumed their former uninterrupted and even course. Once more Convocation met (from May to October, 1661) in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and bishops were again seen in the precincts, whence they had been banished for so many years.

Now also for the first time an official register of all the baptisms, marriages, and burials in the Abbey was attempted, which has been continued and preserved till the present day. It was published in 1876 by the industry of the late Colonel Chester, to whom a tablet with an inscription testifying to the gratitude of the chapter has been placed in the south aisle of the choir. There were no records extant before 1607 amongst the muniments, when Philip Tynchare, installed "chaunter" (minor canon) here in February, 1661, undertook to make a new register from the imperfect books at his disposal. From 1607 to 1661 the omissions are numerous, and include such famous names as Old Parr and Ben Jonson, while some Royalist hand seems to have mutilated even those scanty lists which existed in Tynchare's time, for all the members of Cromwell's family, and the names of Bradshaw, Pym, Strode, Bond, and May are omitted.

During this year (1661) it is interesting to note the burial of Lady Aylesbury, the mother-in-law of Lord Clarendon and great-grandmother of two queens, Mary and Anne. In the vault in which her remains were interred, at the bottom of the steps leading up to Henry VII.'s Chapel, the other members of the Hyde family, including Lord Clarendon himself, were afterwards buried. His own mother died in December, 1661, and was placed in this vault. In May, a royal great-grandchild of Lady Aylesbury's was also laid in the Abbey, within Henry

VII.'s Chapel. This was the infant son of James, Duke of York, by his first wife, Anne Hyde (daughter of Lord Clarendon), who would have been king had he survived his uncle and father—a third Charles. He died before the patent which created him Duke of Cambridge had passed the Great Seal. Nine other children of James II., by Anne Hyde and Mary of Modena, were afterwards buried in the Abbey.

On December 20th, Nicholas Monk, here consecrated Bishop of Hereford only in January of this year, was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel. He had been sent on a mission to his brother, General Monk, by the supporters of Charles II., but had little influence on his brother's final decision to restore the King : his zeal was, however, rewarded after the Restoration by various honours, and he was one of the new canons of Westminster. A monument was erected by his grandson in 1723. Evelyn, who was lodging near the Abbey with his family this winter, has described the funeral as " a decent solemnity. There was a silver mitre with episcopal robes borne by the herald before the herse, which was followed by the duke, his brother, and all the bishops with divers noblemen."

Early in the following February the remains of the once courted and brilliant " Queen of Hearts," Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, only surviving daughter of James I., was laid beside the other Stuarts in the vault of the Queen of Scots. Her body lay in state at Somerset House, whence it was carried by water to the Abbey at midnight on February 17th. A procession of lighted barges, draped in black cloth, followed the coffin, which was landed at " King Edward's " Bridge (Westminster Bridge), and thence borne to Henry VII.'s Chapel, followed by a train of mourners carrying lighted torches. Prince Rupert, who was afterwards laid beside his mother, was chief mourner, supported by two dukes and twenty-one peers. Charles ordered a general mourning, which lasted till April, for his sister.

Two bishops, both of whom had solaced Charles I. during his imprisonment, were buried this same spring (March and April) in the Abbey. The one, Henry Ferne, Bishop of Chester, " whose only fault it was that he could

not be angry," lies under a brass in St. Edmund's Chapel ; the other, Brian Duppa, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Winchester, had been tutor to Charles II., and was not forgotten by his royal pupil when he came to the throne. He died at Richmond, where he had lain concealed "in the troublesome times," and was buried in the North Ambulatory : close to his grave is a monument by Burman.

There were changes in the chapter this year. In May Dr. Peter Heylin died at his house in the cloisters, and was buried in accordance with his expressed desire under his own seat, the sub-dean's stall. It seems that a few days before he died he dreamt that he was "in an extraordinary pleasant and delightful place, where . . . he saw the late King, his master, who said to him: 'Peter, I will have you buried under your seat at church, for you are rarely seen but there, or at your study,' which dream he told his wife the next morning, saying it was a significant one, giving her charge when he died, there to bury him." During the two years which had elapsed since his return to Westminster, Heylin had enlarged his house, and added a new dining-room, besides "beautifying" the other rooms : this is probably one of the old houses looking into the chapter garden. The inscription on Heylin's tablet was written by Earle, who gave up his Deanery on receiving the Bishopric of Worcester in the autumn.

Evelyn, who had been married by Earle at Paris during the Commonwealth, attended the consecration, which took place on the 30th of November, and describes the dinner afterwards in the College Hall as "one of the most plentifull and magnificent dinners that in my life I ever saw, it cost near £600," and was attended by many distinguished guests, "this bishop being universally beloved for his sweete and gentle disposition." Such was Charles's own esteem for Earle that "he could never hear or see any one thing amiss in him." In 1643 Earle had actually been appointed one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, although his attachment to the king and the church was well known. He showed his moderation after he became dean by asking

the Nonconformist Baxter to preach in the Abbey in 1662, and the latter has recorded his appreciation of the dean's courtesy and freedom from bigotry.

On July 1st, 1662, the solemn League and Covenant was renounced publicly by the dean and six prebendaries, probably merely as a protest, since none of these new functionaries had taken it. Widmore records that during the short time Earle was dean here "the chapter laid out in public religion and charitable uses as in repairs of the church, and furnishing it with proper ornaments, in augmentation of vicarages in their patronage, in abatements to tenants, in a gift to the King and for the redemption of slaves* in Turkey, more than £24,000." The money thus profusely spent was probably from the proceeds of the fines paid to the chapter for the renewal of leases after the Restoration. Amongst the muniments Widmore found a relic of Dean Earle—a letter from him to the Lord Mayor of London asking him to come, according to an ancient custom, to service in Henry VII.'s Chapel after he had been sworn in at Westminster Hall: there is no other mention of such a usage in any other place, and no record of the Lord Mayor's reply.

* In the Chapter-book, "The redemption of captives from Algiers, £500."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A MILITARY DEAN.

THE next dean—John Dolben, a Welshman by descent—seemed in a manner already to belong to Westminster, for he had not only been a Westminster boy, but his mother was a niece of the great Lord Keeper Williams. He also, like Williams, was a military ecclesiastic, and during the Civil Wars had won the rank of major, and received two severe wounds, one at Marston Moor, the other at the siege of York. After thus beginning his career as a soldier he returned to his studies at Oxford, in 1646, when the king's cause was hopelessly lost; but he was soon afterwards (1648) deprived of his studentship at Christ Church. For eight years Dolben lived in hiding, fearful, no doubt, lest his known devotion to the royal cause should get him into trouble. In 1656 he was ordained, and the next four years of his life were spent at Oxford, where he and two friends—Fell (afterwards Dean of Christ Church) and Allestree—secretly kept up the Church service in a private house. There is a picture painted by Sir Peter Lely, a copy of which is now hanging in the Deanery at Christ Church, representing the three divines in their gowns and bands reading prayers. It is said to have been called "Chops, Chaps, and Chips," by that farcical monarch Charles II., who loved a jest at the expense of others, for, said he, "Dolben had eaten all, Allestree had drunk all, and left poor Fell starving in the corner." With the Restoration Dolben's services to the royal cause were rewarded, for his wife's uncle, Sheldon, then Bishop of London, gave him a Canonry at St. Paul's and a City living, which preferments he resigned, when, in December, 1662, the King promoted him to the Deanery of Westminster.

During the years of the interregnum the Abbey build-

ings had been allowed to fall into a terrible state of ruin, and Dolben's first thought was the reparation of the fabric; the roof and parts of the vaulting were in immediate danger of falling. Scarcely had he been appointed dean than he used all his powers of persuasion and his influence in high places to induce the chapter to set apart a special fund towards the needs of the building. After a great deal of opposition he succeeded, on the very day of his installation (December 3rd), in having a resolution passed by the chapter "to make the fabrick of the church an equal sharer with the prebendaries in their dividends"—*i.e.* a fifteenth share of the revenue was allotted for the fabric. The same firmness and resolution which the new dean showed at the very commencement were continued unshaken to the end of his long rule of twenty years, and he upheld the jurisdiction of the Church and the authority of the dean so consistently, that he deprived a burgess of Westminster who had behaved rudely to him; besides maintaining the freedom of the Abbey from all diocesan control. With all his strength of will Dolben was most popular with his chapter and in Westminster: Widmore says he often heard old people here who remembered him, speak of him "with great esteem, and as a very good dean." By his portrait, which hangs near his grandfather, Dean Williams, in the Deanery, the account of his personal appearance as "very comely, but grown too fat," is verified. Next to his picture is one named below as that of Earle, but experts have identified both as representing Dolben at different periods in his life.

This dean was looked upon as one of the best preachers of his day. He took to extempore preaching on being rebuked by Charles II. for reading his sermon to him soon after the Restoration. He succeeded so well in this line of oratory, that once when a preacher was taken suddenly ill in the Abbey, after he had given out his text, and divided his sermon into heads, the dean took his place in the pulpit and preached an eloquent discourse from the same text and under the same heads. His preaching was "well liked of" by all, and seems to have had something "of the downright abruptness of

the soldier in the subject, argued out admirably in a very racy and practical fashion." As a sign of his appreciation of Dolben's attainments the King made him Clerk of the Closet in 1664, and the tribute in "Absalom and Achitophel" shows that Charles's favour was not undeserved. Dryden there speaks of Dolben as:

> "Him of the Western Dome, whose weighty sense
> Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence."

The first striking event at the Abbey in Dolben's time was an adult baptism, which took place on April 18th, 1663, in the north transept, where a new font had been lately set up. The christening of adults was so unusual in those days that a special service had to be used on this occasion, which was afterwards inserted in the Prayer Book, and many people came to see the ceremony. One of the young men baptised was a nephew of Canon Thorndyke, and the son of one of the early Lincolnshire emigrants to the New World; he afterwards returned to America. The other youth was Duell Pead, a boy of sixteen, one of the King's scholars, whose christening had perhaps been delayed by the troubles of the Civil Wars. He afterwards took orders, and was chaplain to the Duke of Newcastle and minister of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

In March of this year Dr. Robert South was installed as Prebendary. He had been educated at Westminster School under the great Busby. Busby, with all his severity, was a just man, and was the first to see "great talents in the sulky boy," talents which he succeeded in developing so successfully that South became a distinguished divine and a popular preacher. His only preferment, besides a canonry at Westminster and at Christ Church, was to the Archdeaconry of Westminster (1714); but he might have been dean on Sprat's death (1713) had he not been wise enough to refuse. "Such a chair," he said, "would be too uneasy for an old, infirm man to sit in, and he held himself much better satisfied with living upon the eavesdropping of the church (*i.e.* in the cloisters) than to fare sumptuously by being placed at the pinnacle of it." One sermon, in which he spoke of

Cromwell as "a bankrupt, beggarly fellow . . . . entering the Parliament House with a threadbare torn cloak and greasy hat and perhaps neither of them paid for," is said to have so pleased Charles, who was present, that he burst into a violent fit of laughter, and said to Lord Rochester: "Ods fish, Lory, your chaplain must be a bishop, therefore put me in mind of him at the next death." Charles's own death was the next, and not only did South thus lose the prospect of a bishopric, but it also prevented him from preaching a sermon in the Abbey, which he had prepared for "a solemn meeting of such as had been bred at Westminster School." The sermon was, however, published by the command of Lord Jeffries, who lived close to the Abbey in a house looking into St. James's Park, where Delahay Street now is, all but the garden wall of which has been pulled down. It is in this discourse that the passage about Charles I.'s execution and the loyalty of the school occurs, to which we have alluded before. In 1678, South was given the living of Islip, the Confessor's reputed birthplace, afterwards often held with the Deanery till the time of Buckland, who was the last Dean of Westminster and Rector of Islip combined.

South lived on to a good old age, lived till he had seen "a gentleman (Atterbury) who was born in the very year in which he was made one of the Prebendaries of this Church appointed to be the Dean of it." Lived, too, to bewail the death of Queen Anne, who was to him "all that was good and gracious and the very breath of his nostrils." For fifty years he never failed to attend the Abbey services, but, as he grew older, he was wont peacefully to slumber in his stall. He died on July 8th, 1716, at the advanced age of eighty-two, and his body was brought from Caversham, where he died, to his beloved Westminster, and laid for four days in the Jerusalem Chamber. On the funeral day (July 16th) the coffin was carried with some state into the College Hall, where a Latin oration was said over this venerable "old Westminster" by the captain of the school. A train of mourners, composed of South's college and school friends, besides the whole chapter, flocked after the bier into the

Abbey, where Atterbury read the funeral service with much feeling and affection. South was buried, by his own request, near his redoubtable old schoolmaster, Busby, where a tomb by Bird, the sculptor, was afterwards erected. The oration, spoken by the captain, Barber, was afterwards pirated and printed by a certain bookseller near Temple Bar, much to the rage of the Westminster boys, who revenged themselves on the man, whom they caught in Dean's Yard, by shaking him in a blanket. They then carried him into the school and beat him, and, after forcing him to beg Barber's pardon on his knees, kicked him out of the precincts.

The see of Rochester, held by Dean Neile in 1608, was again joined to the Deanery in 1666, when Dolben received that bishopric. Nine successive deans were henceforth Bishops of Rochester—a see so poor that there was little to gain from it besides the episcopal honour. Dolben was consecrated on November 25th in Lambeth Chapel by his wife's relative Archbishop Seldon, and Dr. South preached a sermon, which was afterwards published, with a preface extolling the virtues of his old college friend. He praises Dolben's benefactions to the fabric of the Abbey, and of Christ Church, summing them up in the words: "Briefly that Christ Church stands so high upon the ground, and that the Church of Westminster is not flat upon it is your Lordship's commendation." While he held the bishopric, Dolben rebuilt the episcopal palace at Bromley, which was in ruins.

This year, 1666, the great fire of London broke out, and once again Dolben became an officer, for he drilled the Westminster boys into a regiment of volunteers, and carried them off to help extinguish the flames in the City. William Taswell, afterwards rector of Newington and Bermondsey, had just been elected a Westminster scholar, and has left a graphic description of the fire: especially does he chronicle the sight of St. Paul's in flames, which he witnessed from the "King's" (Westminster) Bridge. On September 2nd, between his election and admission as a scholar, he was standing on the steps of the Abbey pulpit listening to the preacher, when "I perceived some people below me running to and fro in a seeming dis-

quietude and confusion; immediately almost a report reached me that London was in conflagration; without any ceremony I took my leave of the preacher," and went out to see the fire. "The wind blowing strong eastward the flames at last reached Westminster," but fortunately the Abbey and the Houses of Parliament were unhurt. The next day Taswell describes how Dean Dolben, "who in the civil wars had frequently stood sentinel, collected his scholars together in a company, marching with them on foot to put a stop if possible to the conflagration. I was a kind of page to him, not being of the number of King's Scholars. We were employed many hours in fetching water from the back side of St. Dunstan's Church in the East, where we happily extinguished the fire."

Standing—as it does still—somewhat apart, the Abbey escaped the fire; and of the plague, which had swept off nearly 3,000 people in Westminster alone just before, there is no record in the annals, except the burial of Tom Chiffinch, one of the King's pages, who died of it (April 10th, 1666) and was buried near Casaubon's monument. So sudden in its fatal effects was this terrible disease, that Chiffinch was quite well the night before, "playing at tables and not being ill this morning at six, yet dead before seven" (Pepys). The school had been removed to Chiswick while the plague lasted, and the boys were not long settled back again before the fire broke out.

Burials in the church were now becoming more and more frequent, and there are a certain number in Dolben's time which must be recorded here. Thus of the Dutch War of 1665 we have a memorial in the graves of four naval officers, who "dyed in his Majestie's service against the Dutch," and were buried in the Abbey. Three of these—the Earl of Marlborough, Viscount Muskerry, and the Earl of Falmouth—were killed off Lowestoft in the sea fight of the 3rd of June, while Sir Edward Broughton, mortally wounded the same day, lived till he reached his home at Westminster, and died at the end of the month. About Broughton, who was keeper of the Gatehouse, Pennant gives an amusing anecdote. He says

that shortly before the Restoration, Broughton was imprisoned in the Gatehouse for his loyalty. Here he fell in love with the widow (Pennant is mistaken in saying the daughter) of Wyke, the Gatehouse keeper, who was just dead, and "bound himself to her by a bond of most fearful imprecations." In this paper (printed by Pennant and dated April 12th, 1660) Broughton promised not only to neither drink nor swear, nor follow any other of the common vices of his day, but also to let his betrothed have her own way in all things. That he married her, and so kept one of these pledges we know, but whether the rest of the bond was carried out is open to doubt.

Dolben fell into disfavour with the King for a while, early in 1667, because he persisted in keeping up his old friendship with Lord Clarendon, who was banished this year. Pepys gives us a glimpse of Dolben at this time, when (February 24th, 1667) he, with Dr. Gibbons, went "to see an organ at the Dean of Westminster's lodgings at the Abbey, the Bishop of Rochester's, where he lives like a great prelate, his lodgings being very good, though at present under disgrace at Court, being put by his Clerk of the Closet's place. I saw his lady, of whom the Terræ Filius* at Oxford was once so merry, and two children, one a very pretty little boy like him, so fat and black."

Two more of the Duke of York's young sons died in 1667—one, the Duke of Kendall, who was only a year old, in May; the other, a child of four, given like his eldest brother the title of Duke of Cambridge, died in June. Both were buried with some solemnity in the vault of Mary, Queen of Scots: James, the elder boy, lay in state in the Painted Chamber, his body covered with a fine holland sheet and pall of velvet. Thence the coffin was carried under a velvet canopy to Henry VII.'s Chapel, Prince Rupert, who had buckled the garter round his baby nephew's leg at his installation as Knight of the Garter, following as chief mourner. The children's grandmother, Lord Clarendon's wife, was laid in the Hyde vault in the following August.

* This was a member of the University who was told off to make the cisms in the Oxford Theatre.

A couple of poets, the name of only one of whom survives to fame, were buried in 1667 in the Abbey. The first was Dr. William Johnson, one of the king's chaplains, "a person of great learning," who was interred in March in the North Transept. The other, called in the register "a famous poet," Abraham Cowley, the staunch Royalist, who had rejoiced at Cromwell's funeral, has shared the same fate on modern bookshelves as his obscure contemporary. But at the time of his death the popularity of both the man and his poems was great. He died at the Porch House, Chertsey, on July 28th (1667), and his body was taken to Wallingford House,* the Duke of Buckingham's, whence, says Evelyn, it was "conveyed to Westminster Abbey (on August 3rd) in a hearse with six horses and all funeral decency, near a hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of quality following, among these all the wits of the town, divers bishops and clergymen. He was interred next to Spenser and near Chaucer, a goodly monument is since erected to his memory." The large grey gravestone with Cowley's name upon it must have been moved, as there is only concrete beneath it now: the grave is a little lower down next to Browning's. The monument, by the sculptor Bushnell, was put up in the time of the next dean—Sprat, Cowley's friend and biographer, who wrote the epitaph. Aubrey says, "He lies interred at Westminster Abbey next to Sir Jeffrey Chaucer, where the Duke of Bucks has putt a neate monument of white marble, viz. a faire pedestall whereon the inscription was made by Dr. Spratt, his grace's chaplaine. Above that a very faire urne, with a kind of ghirland or ivy about it." Aubrey has recorded the unmarked grave of the antiquary Sir Henry Spelman, who was buried in Poets' Corner at the beginning of the civil wars (1641), "at the foot of the pillar opposite to Mr. Camden's monument, but without any word of inscription or monument hitherto. I very well remember his pennon that hung up there, but it was either taken downe or fell downe when the scaffolds were putt up at the coronation of his Majestie King Charles II."

In the following spring (1668) there was another poet's

* Where the old Admiralty was.

funeral here, when the laureate, Sir William Davenant, was laid to rest in Poets' Corner, near the door of St. Faith's Chapel, then used as a vestry. Davenant died on April 7th in Lincoln's Inn Fields, or, according to other accounts, at lodgings he had in his own playhouse, the "Duke of York's." His body was laid on April 9th in the empty grave, whence the remains of his rival, the Commonwealth poet laureate, Thomas May, had been ejected with the rest of Cromwell's friends after the Restoration.

Though the funeral was generally regarded as a grand one, Pepys was very satirical on the show. Wood remarks that there was no laurel wreath on the coffin, "which I presume was forgotten." "The poet's body was carried in a hearse from the playhouse to Westminster Abbey, where, at the great west dore, he was received by the singing men and choristers, who sang the service of the church to his grave, which is in the south crosse aisle, on which on a paving stone of marble is writt in imitation of that on Ben Jonson: 'O rare Sir William Davenant.'"

Denham did not survive to attend another Abbey funeral. He died in March, 1669, a year after Davenant, and was buried near his dear friend Cowley, of whom he had written in the elegy on Cowley's "death and burial amongst the ancient poets," as:

"The fairest, sweetest flower that in the Muses' garden grew."

The exact place of his interment is not marked by any inscription, but the nameless leaden coffin, seen when Lord Tennyson's grave was dug, south of Cowley's, may well be his. Like Davenant, Denham was a loyal Cavalier poet, and Charles II. made him a Knight of the Bath (as a reward for his loyalty) at the Coronation.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FUNERALS OF ROYALIST LEADERS AND OTHER MEN OF NOTE.

In the following spring—April, 1670—a funeral, equal in its grandeur to those of the chief Commonwealth magnates, took place in the Abbey. This was the burial of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, whose coffin was brought from Somerset House, where the deceased general had lain in state since January 3rd, "with all the respect imaginable, in long procession to the Abbey." The body itself had been privately conveyed by water to Westminster the evening before the funeral day (April 29th), and buried in a large vault west of Queen Elizabeth's tomb (north aisle, Henry VII.'s Chapel), where the wife, who had survived her husband only a month, was also laid. On the following day took place the actual funeral, a magnificent one, "suitable to his greatnesse," Charles himself attending as chief mourner. The streets were gravelled all the way to the Abbey, and guarded by the trained bands; the officers wore "cypress" scarves and the drums were muffled in black bags. The dean and prebendaries in their copes met the procession at the west door, and the effigy was carried to the hearse, which stood under the lantern during the service. The dean officiated and Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, preached. The future history of the effigy is a curious one. Aubrey speaks of the figure of the general in his robes as "very artificially donne, which lay in a catafalco under a canopie in or neer the east end of Westminster Abbey a month or six weeks." A monument was erected to Monk's memory fifty years later in the opposite aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, and here, in a case by the side of his royal master Charles II., Monk's effigy, dressed in armour, his ducal robes over the mail, used to stand. The cap was long used by the guides for collecting money from

those to whom they showed the effigies, and is mentioned in the "Ingoldsby Legends," over two centuries later:—

"I thought on Naseby, Marston Moor, and Worcester's crowning fight,
When on mine ear a sound there fell, it filled me with affright,
As thus in low, unearthly tones, I heard a voice begin—
'This here's the cap of General Monk! Sir, please put summat in.'"

Before this, in Goldsmith's time, the cap was well known, and is described in his "Citizen of the World." A battered wooden figure, with the armour tied on it by pieces of string, was unearthed some years ago from a cupboard in the Islip Chantry Chapel, and now stands in a corner there with the other effigies. The armour has since been repaired, and a ducal cap, which may be the identical one referred to above, has been found and replaced on the head.

Two years later (July 3rd, 1672) a distinguished admiral—Montagu, Earl of Sandwich—was buried in the general's vault, and his banners and pennons, with Monk's, were seen hanging above the vault by Crull in 1711. He is one of several naval officers killed in the action against the Dutch on May 28th, in Southwold Bay, who are buried or commemorated within the Abbey walls. Rather than leave his post when the ship was sinking beneath him, he remained with a few sailors, who refused to desert their admiral, and all were blown up together. Another victim of this bloody naval fight lies in St. Edmund's Chapel. This is Sir Frescheville Holles, son of the great antiquary Gervase Holles. While their superior officers thus have graves but no other record here, two captains—Sir Charles Harbord and Clement Cottrell—friends who were united in death as in life, are commemorated by a monument in the nave. Harbord's father showed his affection to his son by directing that forty shillings should be given to the poor on the anniversary of the battle, so long as the monument "shall continue whole or undefaced in Westminster Abbey Church . . . . for ever by the advice and direction of the dean then for the time being." Should he die in or near Westminster he desired to be buried by his son's monument.

THE WESTMINSTER BOYS AND THE BOOKSELLER
(*See p. 282.*)

READING JAMES II.'S "LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE" DECLARATION IN THE ABBEY.
(*See p.* 298.)

Thus the custom, started under the Commonwealth, of showing the gratitude of the nation to her brave defenders by a grave or monument in the Abbey, was continued after the Restoration. Throughout the next two centuries and a half the walls of the nave, choir aisles, and north transept, hitherto almost empty, became blocked up by monuments, as one military or naval commander after another received the honour of a memorial. The four sailors mentioned above are not the only reminders of Charles's second war with the Dutch, for the Colonel Hamilton after whom Hamilton Place is called, who lost a leg in another naval action, and survived only a few weeks, was buried in the north choir aisle (June, 1673). Beside him, a few months later, was laid the body of a distinguished admiral—Sir Edward Spragge—Van Tromp's rival, who was drowned in an engagement off the Dutch coast. He was mourned by friend and foe alike, and loved by all men "as well for his noble courage as for the gentle sweetness of his temper."

One by one the various members of the Hyde family were buried in the Abbey, till no fewer than twenty relatives of Lord Clarendon, the great Lord Chancellor and Royalist historian, found sepulchre here. In 1671, Anne Hyde, wife of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., was laid in the Hyde vault at the bottom of the steps leading to Henry VII.'s Chapel. Three years later her father, Lord Clarendon himself, died in exile at Rouen, and his royal master permitted the body of the banished favourite to be brought over to England and buried with his family (January, 1675).

The loyal Cavaliers, who had fought and suffered for their King, and survived to shine at his Court, are well represented in the Abbey. Here, for instance, in the north transept, is the large monument which commemorates the burial, in 1677, of the "Loyall Duke" of Newcastle, William Cavendish, who had lost his large fortune in the King's service, and thus reduced himself to great straits during his exile under the Commonwealth. With him lies his talented Duchess, Margaret Lucas (d. 1674); in the words of the epitaph written by her sorrowing husband, she was "a wise, wittie and learned

lady which her many bookes do well testifie," and "with her lord all the time of his banishment and miseries." Sir William Sanderson, one of Charles I.'s old servants, died at a great age (ninety) at this time—1676. He, like the duke, had suffered great hardships, and his wife, Dame Bridget (afterwards buried beside him), "Mother of the Maids of Honour to the Queen Mother and to her that now is," with whom he had "lived very amicably for fifty years," put up a tablet to his memory in the north transept. In the same year the second of those famous musical composers who succeeded one another as organists here, was buried in the cloisters. This was Dr. Christopher Gibbons, son of the well-known Orlando Gibbons, who had been the Abbey organist in Dean Williams's time before the Restoration. The son, after fighting for his king during the Civil Wars, returned to the more peaceable avocations of a musician when the rebellion was over, and Charles II. gave him his father's former post.

The Popish plot, a conspiracy which convulsed the country in 1678, and cost Algernon Sidney his life, has left its record here in the monument put up in the cloisters to Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. This was the judge to whom Titus Oates pretended to betray the conspirators' designs, and who, three weeks later, was found dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill. The Papists were suspected, and three of the queen's servants executed; but, far from these summary measures crushing the rumours of conspiracy, as was expected, "the Popish plot agitation really began in the excitement the murder caused."

Another of those disgraceful crimes which made London streets so unsafe for any person of notoriety in Charles's reign, is commemorated in the monument put up by his widow to that typical Restoration courtier, Thomas Thynne. It seems that one Count Koenigsmarck coveted Thynne's newly-married bride, a great heiress, and hired three cut-throats to assassinate his rival as he drove in his coach along the lonely heath, where is now the bustling thoroughfare Pall Mall. The young widow, who was barely seventeen, refused to marry the count, but she soon wedded another husband, Charles Seymour,

Duke of Somerset. A monument erected in the nave to Sir Palmes Fairborne, Governor of Tangier, who was killed in 1680, bravely defending that town against the Moors, recalls an interesting episode in the history of Charles II.'s reign. Tangier fell into the hands of the English king as part of the dowry of his queen, Catherine of Braganza, and for the score of years during which it remained an English possession was only kept at the expense of an immense waste of blood and treasure. Remains of the dyke, constructed as a protection from the incessant inroads of the Moors, still recalls the memory of the brave soldiers whose blood was shed in their gallant defence of this place, called "the first cradle of our standing army" by Dean Stanley. The fine, though somewhat bombastic epitaph, written by Dryden, pays a fitting tribute to the memory of the brave general.

In May, 1677, "the greatest scholar in England," as Charles II. called him, Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was buried on what has since been called "the learned side" of Poets' Corner, near Casaubon's monument. Barrow had come up to town for the annual election at his old school, and was staying in a house in the cloisters, called the Tree, pulled down in February, 1711, which "had a little stair to it out of the cloisters," and was therefore given the name of "a man's nest" by the jocular divine. His reputation as a wit, mathematician, and scholar was very great, and his friends erected a monument to him, upon which is a flattering epitaph composed "by his dear friend Dr. Mapletoft," with a bust upon it said to "but little resemble him." Barrow was thrice invited to preach in the Abbey by Dean Dolben, and the following anecdotes about his sermons illustrate some of the customs at the Abbey in those days. Dr. Pope tells us, in his Life of Seth Ward, that the dean coupled his request to Barrow for a sermon with the warning not to be too long, "for that auditory loved short sermons and were used to them. He replied: 'My Lord, I will show you my sermon,' and pulling it out of his pocket puts it into the bishop's hands. The text was: '*He that uttereth*

slander is a Lyer.' The sermon was accordingly divided into two parts, one treated of Slander, the other of Lyes. The dean desired him to content himself with preaching only the first part" (another account states that he preached on the "Lyes" section), "to which he consented not without some reluctancy, and in speaking that only it took up an hour and a half. . . . Another time, upon the same person's invitation, he preached at the Abbey on a holy-day. Here I must inform the reader that it is a custom for the servants of the church upon all holy-days, Sundays excepted, betwixt the sermon and evening prayer to show the tombs and effigies of the kings and queens in wax to the meaner sort of people, who then flock thither from all the corners of the town and pay their twopence to see *the play of the dead volks,* as I have heard a Devonshire clown not improperly call it. These (the vergers) perceiving Dr. Barrow in the pulpit after the hour was past, and fearing to lose that time in hearing which they thought they could more properly employ in receiving, these, I say, became impatient and caus'd the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over playing till they had blow'd him down."

Amongst the prebendaries during Dolben's rule were two of some distinction—John North, who afterwards filled Barrow's post as Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and Symon Patrick, who became Bishop successively of Chichester and Ely. North was Clerk of the Closet to Charles II., and much appreciated "the house and accommodation for living in town" which his stall here afforded him.

The fabric was in a distressingly ruinous condition at this time, and, indeed, so bad was the state of the north front and Richard II.'s porch that it was necessary to remove the latter before the end of this century. But the chapter, unanimous for once, were already, during North's ten years' residence here (1673-1683), concerning themselves about the repairs, and, while deploring the ruinous state of the building, he says that though to support it was as much as the chapter could do, yet they did not shirk their duty. "And of later times so much has been laid out that way as might have re-built part of it."

Under the next two deans, in fact, the whole fabric was restored and re-faced.

Patrick, who received his prebendal stall the year before North, had a most sincere and sentimental love for the abbey precincts. He was made treasurer in 1676, and then removed into a house "new built in the Little Cloisters," where he says "we enjoyed many happy days, and my wife thought it the sweetest part of our lives which we spent here." In the Abbey are laid two of his children, one a little girl "of very great beauty, very lovely in our eyes, and grew every day more delightful," who is buried near the monument of Goodman, that kindly Elizabethan dean. Here in his peaceful study Patrick shut himself to write theological works, amongst them a commentary on Job, and was wont to shirk his prebendal duty of preaching in the afternoons in order to get back to his books.

Dolben vacated the Deanery for the Archbishopric of York in August, 1683, and was succeeded by Thomas Sprat, one of the prebendaries, who did not receive the Bishopric of Rochester, now attached to the deanery, till a year later. Sprat, the son of a poor clergyman, rose to be a Church dignitary through the patronage of the poet Cowley, who recommended him to the Duke of Buckingham as chaplain. A poetaster himself, he had in his youth written poems modelled on Cowley's, and published a poem on the death of Cromwell. Sprat in his turn patronised a poet by remitting the fees when Dryden was buried here. He took also an individual interest in each poet's monument, supervising those inscriptions, such as Shadwell's, of which he did not approve the sentiments, and suppressing obnoxious lines.

The last royal person buried in the Abbey under Dolben was Prince Rupert, who died in embarrassed circumstances at his house in Spring Gardens on November 29th, 1682, and was buried privately by night in the vault of Mary, Queen of Scots, where his mother, the Queen of Bohemia, and many other relatives had been already laid.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ABBEY UNDER JAMES II.

Before Sprat had been dean much over eighteen months he had to officiate at the funeral of one king, and soon afterwards at the coronation of another. Charles II. died on February 6th, 1685, somewhat suddenly—under suspicion, as usual, of poisoning ; but that he had certainly had a stroke of paralysis is proved by the contraction of the facial muscles on one side in his effigy, the face of which is copied from a mask taken after death. From this evidence the various versions of his last words are manifestly untrue, as, according to a medical authority who has examined the effigy, the contraction of the face must have prevented the dying monarch from uttering an intelligible word for some days before his death.

What with the intrigues of the Roman Catholics and the quarrels between the next heir, James, Duke of York, and the King's mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, there was much agitation over the succession. Contrary, however, to expectation, James successfully took the throne, and repelled the attempts of the Duke of Monmouth to unseat him. It was not, however, considered politic to have a public funeral. The body of the late king was hastily embalmed, and, in order to avoid any difficulties which might arise about the ritual, interred late at night, though with a certain amount of ceremony, the King, and all the household, the Privy Council, and such peers as were in town at the time attending it. James himself, in his memoirs, excuses the parsimony of his brother's funeral by one of his self-righteous comments: he thought it "more conformable with that Christian humility which even princes may not dispense with" to avoid all pomp.

So successfully, indeed, did the new king practise

economy, that he omitted to have any inscription cut above his brother's grave. In the vault, a newly excavated one, where Charles's coffin lay, the bodies of his two royal nieces, Mary and Anne, with their husbands, were interred; but their names were not cut in the stone above till 1866, by Dean Stanley's care. The only memorials, in fact, to these last reigning members of the house of Stuart were their wax effigies, which stood above the vault until their removal to the Islip Chapel. Charles II.'s effigy is the oldest *waxen* contemporary figure of a king which remains; the robes were renewed in the next century, and trimmed with real *point-de-rose* lace.

With all his vices the Merry Monarch had managed to make himself popular, and Prebendary Patrick only speaks the truth when he says that "there was great lamentation on the King's death." The chapter was much perturbed by the news, and "about ten o'clock at night our Dean summoned all the prebendaries to come to his lodgings that he might comfort them with the declaration King James had made at the Council table, which was that he would maintain the protestant religion by law established, etc., on which he was confident we might depend." The Lord Chief Justice gave this out the next day on the bench, but when the declaration was printed, there was no word which could be definitely interpreted as Protestant in it.

The coronation was fixed for the Feast of St. George —April 23rd, 1685—and Sandford gives an elaborate account of it. The suspicions of the Protestants were by no means allayed by the new king's conduct. He had the ritual abridged and the Communion Service not read in order to avoid hurting the feelings of the Papists, the ostensible reason given being the shortness of the spring days. He annoyed the populace also by omitting the procession from the Tower in order to spend the money it would have cost, £100,000, on his wife, Mary of Modena's, dress and jewels. The enthusiasm of the forty Westminster boys inside the Abbey (allowed to appear *en masse* for the first time), who saluted the royal pair with "vivats" from their place above the organ loft, made

up, however, for the cold reception outside. The Bishop of Ely preached a sermon on much the same theme as his predecessor Williams at the funeral of the first James, taking Solomon as his subject, perhaps inspired thereto by the tapestry of the Judgment of Solomon, then hanging in the choir, now in the Jerusalem Chamber. There was, as usual, no lack of a bad omen for the croakers. This time the hand of Henry Sidney, who held the crown on the new king's head, shook so that he nearly let it fall, in spite of his proud boast that "This is not the first time our family have supported the throne."

Purcell's and Blow's music, then quite new, and still followed at coronations, was used. The young Purcell was organist, but his master, Blow, who had resigned that post to him (1680) only to take it again on the greater composer's death, probably played his own for a part, if not all, of the service on this occasion, as he was a favourite of the new king at that time. That close observer Patrick, watching the ceremony from his canon's stall, criticised his Sovereign's demeanour during service. "I observed a vast difference between the King's behaviour and the Queen's. At the reading of the Litany they both came to kneel before the altar and she answered all the responses, but he never moved his lips. She expressed great devotion but he little or none, often looking about as unconcerned. When she was anointed and crowned I never saw greater devotion on any countenance." Evelyn describes the "solemnity" as "magnificent," but, "having been present at the late King's coronation, I was not ambitious of seeing this ceremony; to the sorrow of the people no sacrament, as ought to have been."

There was at this time amongst the "singing men" belonging to the Abbey choir one Henry Keepe, a gentleman of the Inner Temple, who was something of an antiquary, and in 1683 had published the first guide-book since the days of Camden. In his researches for this work, Keepe had already climbed up the Confessor's shrine once or twice "by the help of a ladder," and seen "something resembling a coffin made of sound, firm, and strong wood, and bound about with bands of iron, and, during the eighteen years I have belonged to the choir

of this church, it was a common tradition among us that therein was deposited the body or remains of holy King Edward the Confessor." Early in 1687, Keepe, writing under the pseudonym of Charles Taylour, published an account of his rifling the Confessor's shrine of one of its most precious relics soon after James II.'s coronation in June, 1685. A hole had been broken in the coffin by the workmen* who removed the scaffold, and Keepe, putting in his hand, drew out a beautiful gold crucifix and chain. He describes all the delays which took place before he could make up his mind to give up this treasure; how, in about a month, he showed it to Dolben, now Archbishop of York, then went to Lambeth and displayed it to the Southern Primate; how, after Sir William Dugdale, the great antiquary, had called on him and examined the relic, the news of the find reached the ears of Dean Sprat himself, who sent at once for the "singing man," and carried him off then and there to the King at Whitehall. Keepe, making the best of necessity, for doubtless he had intended disposing of the jewel himself, fell on his knees and presented the cross and chain to the King, receiving, it is said, a bounty of £50. There is no mention of this payment in the pamphlet, but the author proceeds to give an interesting description of the state of the Confessor's remains. He says: "I drew the head to the hole and viewed it, being very sound and firm, with the upper and nether jaws whole and full of teeth, and a list of gold above an inch broad in the nature of a coronet surrounding the temples. There was also in the coffin white linnen, and gold-coloured flowered silk, that look'd indifferent fresh, but the least stress put thereto shew'd it was well nigh perish'd; there were all his bones and much dust likewise which I left as I found. His Majesty was pleased soon after this discovery to send to the Abbey, and order'd the old coffin to be enclosed in a new one, of an extraordinary strength, each plank being two inches thick and cramp'd together

* So gross was the carelessness with regard to the ancient monuments, that some irreparable damage was done at every coronation, and at Anne's the crockets of Aymer de Valence's tomb were saved from a workman who was about to saw them off.

with large iron wedges, where it now remains as a testimony of his pious care that no abuse might be offer'd to the sacred ashes therein reposited." Mr. Wall says that the crucifix, which afterwards passed from hand to hand and was last heard of at an auction in 1830, was said by Donovan, the naturalist, in whose possession it once was, to still contain a particle of dark matter supposed to be a piece of the true cross.

The troubled reign of James II. has left no mark upon the Abbey walls. Yet one scene there is very characteristic of the political atmosphere in the last year of James's time. This was when the King's famous Declaration for "Liberty of Conscience," looked on as the first serious attempt to establish Popery, was read in the Abbey on May 20th, 1688, by Sprat's permission. According to Patrick the document was read by one of the "petty" (*i.e.* minor from the French *petit*, small) canons; but Lord Dartmouth, then a king's scholar, and Bishop Burnet describe Sprat as reading it himself. "As soon as Bishop Sprat (who was dean) gave orders for reading it there was so great a murmur and noise in the church that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. The bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and everybody looked under a strange consternation."

Although the Declaration was thus read at the Abbey, and also at Whitehall Chapel, Evelyn describes it as "almost universally forborne throughout London." Dr. Johnson asserts that, while he allowed it to be read at Westminster, Sprat remained neutral and "pressed none to violate his conscience, and when the Bishop of London was brought before the commissioners, gave his voice in his favour. Thus far he suffered interest or obedience to carry him, but further he refused to go, for when he found that the powers of the Ecclesiastical Commission were to be exercised against those who had refused the Declaration, he wrote to the Lords and other commissioners a formal profession of his unwillingness to exercise that authority any longer, and withdrew himself

from them. After they had read his letter they adjourned for six months, and never met again."

The dean, in fact, was a person of some weight in politics "on whom the Court relied, and therefore his defection could not but trouble the King extremely." Some were ill-natured enough to accuse him of trimming, and already negotiating with the Prince of Orange. A few months later the secret of William's approaching arrival was told to Prebendary Patrick by Dr. Tenison, and no doubt imparted to Sprat, who would have found it politic to pretend ignorance, even if already aware of the fact. Then came a certain wet night in December when, as Tenison, the future Archbishop, and Patrick sat together in the Little Cloisters waiting for news, "one knocked hard at the door. It being opened, in came the Bishop of St. Asaph, to whom I said: 'What makes your lordship come abroad in such weather when the rain pours down as if heaven and earth would come together?' To which he answered he had been at Lambeth, and was sent by the bishops to wait upon the Prince, and know when they might all come and pay their duty to him." Sprat, although he spoke on James's side in the debate on his abdication, was but a half-hearted partisan. He not only acquiesced in William and Mary's accession, but performed the usual decanal duties at the coronation, meeting the Sovereigns with the regalia beforehand, and carrying the chalice at the service. Never before had a royal pair, each in their own right, been anointed as King and Queen, and nothing was omitted which might emphasise the fact of Mary's claim to be a reigning Queen, not a Queen-Consort. A second crown, globe, and sceptre were made specially for her, also another chair, since both could not be anointed in St. Edward's seat, and she and her husband carried the great sword of state between them up to the altar—the tall, massive Queen towering over her little husband, who is said to have stood upon a stool during most of the ceremony. The coronation oath, which had been so abridged by James that "the care taken of the people's liberties in the ancient oath" was left out, and special regard paid to the rights of the clergy and the royal prerogative, was

altered by Act of Parliament to conformity "with the Protestant religion as established by law." Before Mary had finished dressing news was brought to her of her father's landing at Kinsale, and at the same time a letter from him invoking curses on her head was handed to her. This caused so much confusion and hesitation that the procession was delayed over two hours—from 11 to 1.30; and the fears of James's return caused many to absent themselves. "Much of the splendour" (says Evelyn) "was abated by the absence of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but five Bishops, four Judges (no more being yet sworn), and several noblemen and great ladies wanting."

Ill omens were plentiful enough, and the Jacobites were loud in their disapproval of the guard of Dutch soldiers lining the way to the Abbey door. The day chosen was for the first time neither a Sunday nor a holy day. The crown was not put on the Queen's head till four p.m., and it was dark before the ceremony was over. In the general muddle caused by the darkness and agitation the money, twenty guineas, provided for the royal offering was lost, and when the gold basin was handed to the King, who was thus reduced to temporary penury, an awkward pause ensued, till Lord Danby produced some gold and handed it to him. Archbishop Sancroft (who had been consecrated primate in the Abbey in 1678) refused to officiate, and though his Grace of York was actually present, yet Mary's favourite, Compton, Bishop of London, performed the primate's office, and that other favoured divine, Bishop Burnet, preached a brief discourse on the duty of kings. The Queen's demeanour was carefully watched, and she was much blamed by her opponents for her apparent cheerfulness. But long before the service was over she got hot and flushed from the heat and fatigue of the lengthy ceremony, and Anne, standing close beside her, even as Elizabeth had stood near Mary Tudor, remarked: "Madam, I pity your fatigue." "A crown, sister," retorted Mary Stuart, with double meaning, "is not so heavy as it seems to be."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY AND THE ACCESSION OF THE LAST STUART SOVEREIGN.

SPRAT'S political troubles had not ended with the flight of one Sovereign and the accession of that king's daughter and son-in-law. Towards the end of 1692, two men of notoriously bad character, whose motives in the whole affair are still a mystery, promoted a plot against the dean's reputation, which might have brought him to the scaffold. The details of this, called "The Flower-pot Conspiracy," are given by Dr. Johnson in his "Lives of the Poets." The two conspirators, both of whom were actually prisoners in Newgate when they laid their schemes, "drew up an Association in which they whose names were subscribed declared their resolution 'to restore King James, to seize the Princess of Orange, dead or alive, and to be ready with 30,000 men to meet King James when he should land.' To this they put the names of Sancroft, Sprat, Marlborough, Salisbury, and others. The copy of Dr. Sprat's name was obtained by a fictitious request to which an answer '*in his own hand*' was desired. His hand was copied so well that he confessed it might have deceived himself." The document was dropped by one of the conspirators in a flower-pot in the parlour of the palace at Bromley, and in consequence of information laid by them before the Privy Council, the bishop was arrested, his house searched, and the incriminating paper found. Sprat, however, was able to prove his innocence and expose the plotters, and he was left undisturbed in his posts of dean and bishop for the remaining twenty years of his long life.

For about the last sixteen years of that time he devoted himself to the repairs of the fabric, which was in a most ruinous and dilapidated condition. Sir Christopher

Wren supervised the restoration, the funds for which were provided from the revenues of the chapter estates, and also from a duty on coals granted by Parliament for the purpose (1697), on the motion of Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, an old Westminster. Keepe in his guide-book gives a lamentable account of the state of the building at this period, before any attempt had been made to repair the ruin, and draws a vivid picture of the original north front and the outside of the Abbey in the late seventeenth century. He makes no allusion to Richard II.'s porch, which had lately been cleared away: it is shown in a print of Hollar's dated 1654, but by 1686 another engraving gives the dilapidated north front as described by Keepe, without a porch. Wren began on the south side, and in 1713, just after Sprat's death, sent in a detailed report to the new dean, Atterbury, of all he had already done towards the reparation, and of the immense work still before him. This document, printed in the "Parentalia," although properly belonging to a somewhat later period, is referred to here because Wren describes the repairs done under Sprat. The letter itself is too long and deals too exclusively with architectural details to give *in extenso,* but a few particulars are extracted. Under Sprat's rule the repairs on the south side were finished, but, on the north, Wren says that "we have not yet done much . . . . the houses on the north side are so close that there is not room left for raising of scaffolds and ladders, nor for passage for bringing materials, besides the tenants taking every inch to the walls of the church to be in their leases this ground, already too narrow, is divided as the backsides to the houses. . . . A great part of the expense will be in the north front, and the great rose window there, which, being very ruinous, was patched up for the present to prevent further ruin some years since before I was concerned, but must now be new done." Wren concludes his report with a description of his design for the restoration of the west and north fronts, the work on which he did not live to complete.

We have wandered on so far beyond 1697 merely in order to show that the great eighteenth-century

restoration—in some details, such as cutting short the columns of the windows, the *destruction*—of the ancient fabric was begun and carried some way under Sprat. It is now time to return to the seventeenth century, and to the notable persons who were commemorated or buried in the church while Sprat was still dean. Two years (1694) after his own narrow escape from political ruin, the Abbey ran serious risk from utter destruction, as a fire broke out in the cloisters, which consumed, it is said, all but two, *i.e.* about two hundred and thirty of the precious manuscripts given by Williams to the library.

Six years had not passed since the joint coronation of William and Mary when the King was left doubly widowed, on his throne and at his hearthstone, by the premature death of his queen at the early age of thirty-three. Mary died on December 28th, 1694, but she was not buried till March 5th, as immense preparations were necessary for her funeral, which, says Macaulay, in somewhat exaggerated language, was long remembered as "the saddest and most august Westminster had ever seen."

Wren was ordered, as Surveyor of the Works, to prepare rails from Whitehall to the west door of the Abbey, "the walks betwixt them to be gravelled, and the rails to be covered with black cloth." The body was carried in an open chariot to the church, the coffin was covered with purple and gold, upon which a few white flakes of snow fell from the grey March sky. The pall was borne by the chiefs of the great houses of Howard, Seymour, Grey, and Stanley, while behind them followed both Houses of Parliament, the Lords in their crimson-and-ermine robes, the Commons in long, black cloaks. This was the solitary occasion on which Parliament, always dissolved on the death of a sovereign, was present at the funeral of one who had been queen in her own right, for William was still on the throne. The whole magistracy of the City was present, and nothing omitted which might add to the regal state desired by the bereaved king. The cost of the funeral amounted to £100,000. Princess Anne was chief mourner, and before her walked two hundred poor old women in mourning,

as at royal burials of queens in old days, each of whom received forty shillings and a black gown. Sprat read the service and Archbishop Tenison preached.

The coffin was laid upon an elaborate hearse, designed by Wren, the last of the kind made for a sovereign. According to ancient precedent, it remained standing in the Abbey for some time, and is said to have been constantly haunted by a robin redbreast. Mary's wax effigy, and then William's, long stood side by side with Charles II.'s upon the step above the vault, and are now, together with Anne's, in the Islip Chantry Chapel. The four royal figures are curious contrasts. There is the swarthy face which Charles inherited from his mother's Basque ancestry ; his fat, good-natured niece, Anne, fills up one huge case ; then comes Mary, comely, and with a fine figure, six feet high, towering over her short husband, who stands beside her on a stool. She and Anne both wear beautiful brocaded dresses, and Mary has old lace, probably taken from her own wardrobe. These figures used to be shown to visitors for twopence, and a satirical rhymester of the day calls attention to the fact of there being no monument to Charles II. :—

> " I saw him shown for two pence in a chest,
> Like Monk, old Harry, Mary, and the rest,
> And if the figure answered its intent,
> *In ten years more 'twould buy a monument.*"

The figures were, in fact, the only memorials to the last Stuart Sovereigns.

Three days after the queen's funeral, Sprat read the burial service over the grave of that gifted young divine, Henry Wharton, Isaac Newton's favourite pupil, who died at the early age of thirty-one, a victim to his " excessive intellectual labours." The author of the " Anglia Sacra " had already won fame, and his funeral was attended by many distinguished persons. Amongst them, perhaps, was his master, Newton, who, in 1689, had leased a house in the Sanctuary, and so cannot have been an unfamiliar figure to the dwellers in the precincts. Archbishop Tenison was here again, and as Wharton was an old Westminster, all the king's scholars followed his body to the grave. The dean and chapter—a mark

of the highest respect they could show the deceased—remitted the burial fees, and a tablet to his memory was allowed to be placed over the dean's private door.

Henry Purcell, one of the greatest of our English composers, did not long survive these two funerals, for both of which he had composed anthems, and officiated at the organ. He died on November 21st, 1695, and was laid to rest on the 25th in the north aisle of the choir, since called, from the number of composers buried or commemorated there, the "Musicians' Aisle." The music Purcell had written for Queen Mary's burial was now sung as his own dirge, and afterwards his name was recorded on a tablet* above his grave. Purcell's master, the irascible Blow, now resumed his former place as organist, and held it till his death, though he was once or twice in danger of losing it through his uncourtierlike language. Blow died in 1708, and was succeeded here by another pupil and composer, Croft, whose music is still used in unison with Purcell's at most of the Abbey funerals. Croft just missed the coronation of George II., for he died two months before it (August, 1727), and was buried near Blow and Purcell in the "Musicians' Aisle"; his memorial tablet is next to Blow's.

Two more men, each distinguished in his own walk of life, were laid in the Abbey in 1695: these were the redoubtable head-master, Busby (buried April 5th), and the statesman, George Savile, Marquess of Halifax, whose funeral followed on the heels of Busby's (April 11th). So lasting an impression had Busby made upon his pupils, that it is said they would turn "pale as marble" when they passed the seraphic effigy which commemorates the stern pedagogue.

The first year of the new century, the eighteenth, was marked by the grand funeral of John Dryden, the poet-laureate. Dryden was buried on May 13th, 1700, and, as in the case of Wharton, the dean remitted the usual burial fees, and gave the ground for the grave in Poets' Corner. A private burial had been proposed, but was

* The same person, Adams, who carved his name on the coronation chair in 1800, has left his mark on Purcell's tablet.

opposed by Lord Jeffreys and others, and Montagu, Lord Halifax, Addison's friend, probably paid the expenses. There was such an enormous following of mourning coaches—fifty, it is said, containing Dryden's friends, the poets and wits of the day, and fifty others with "persons of quality"—that there was much confusion.

Farquhar describes the ceremony as incongruous and burlesque, "fitter for Hudibras than him." Dr. Johnson repeats a "wild" and fictitious story of a practical joke played by young Lord Jeffreys, which was first published in a Life of Congreve (printed 1730), and is only interesting because such a scene was believed to be credible and possible at a poet-laureate's funeral, its authenticity being unquestioned by the great doctor himself. Jeffreys, it is here related, stopped the procession on its way to the Abbey, took the poet's coffin from the hearse, and deposited it at an undertaker's, promising to provide a "royal interment" and a thousand pounds for a monument. Meantime the dean was left "with the Abbey lighted, the choir attending, an anthem ready set, and himself waiting for some time without a corpse to bury." Sprat, so says the tale, refused to make a second attempt to bury the poet, and the body was lodged at the College of Physicians while Dr. Garth got up a subscription to defray the expenses. "At last, about three weeks later, a day was fixed, and Garth pronounced a Latin oration (this, as a fact, took place at the real funeral), concluded amidst the mirth of his auditors. The procession began to move, a numerous train of mourners attended the hearse, but good God! in what disorder can only be expressed by a sixpenny pamphlet soon after published entitled 'Dryden's funeral.' At last the corpse arrived at the Abbey, which was all unlighted. No organ played, no anthem sung, only two of the singing boys preceded the corpse, who sung an ode of Horace, each a small candle in his hand. The butchers and other mob broke in like a deluge so that only about eight or ten gentlemen could get admission, and those forced to cut their way with their swords drawn. The coffin, in this disorder, was let down into Chaucer's grave with as much confusion and as little ceremony as was possible, every

MARY RECEIVING NEWS OF THE LANDING OF JAMES II. AT KINSALE.
(*See p.* 300.)

SCENE AT DRYDEN'S FUNERAL.
(*See p.* 306.)

one glad to save themselves from the gentlemen's swords or the clubs of the mob."

The monument was put up twenty years later by that liberal patron of poets, Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire. The present beautiful bust by Scheemakers was given by Sheffield's widow to replace the first, which was not considered satisfactory. There is no epitaph, but Dean Atterbury had a correspondence with Pope on the subject, in which he proposed either a short inscription in Latin, or the following :—

> "This Sheffield rais'd to Dryden's ashes just,
> Here fix'd his name and there his laurell'd bust,
> What else the Muse in marble might express
> Is known already, praise would make it less."

Very different from Dryden's was the semi-private funeral of the reigning sovereign, William III., which took place at midnight on April 11th, 1702, the day of his coronation. The body was taken from Kensington Palace, where the king died (on March 8th), to the Prince's Chamber, Westminster Palace ; but the procession started from Kensington. The wax effigy was carried on an open chariot, followed by a funeral train, to Westminster Palace, where the coffin was placed with it. The purple velvet pall which covered the coffin was borne up the Abbey by six dukes, and Prince George, the new queen's husband, was chief mourner, but otherwise there was no kind of state. There was no sermon, and Dean Sprat read the burial service ; no anthem, no other outward token of mourning marked this king's funeral; by 1 a.m. all was over, and the coffin laid in Henry VII.'s Chapel beside the wife whom William had wept so sincerely. Evelyn, who is fond of a pageant, can only say that the late king "was buried with all the magnificence a private burial could admit of."

Queen Anne had long made up her mind to be crowned on the same saint's day as her uncle, Charles II., and her father, James—St. George's Day. The coronation, therefore, took place only a few days after William's burial, on April 23rd, and the signs of mourning, the black cloths in the Abbey, and the black clothes in the

street, had to be transformed with indecent haste into brighter hues. The Queen, who suffered too much from gout and excessive corpulence to walk or ride, was carried on a sedan chair from St. James's Palace to Westminster Hall, and thence to the west door of the Abbey, "along by the Broad Sanctuary, the houses on each side being crowded with spectators, who rent the air with cries of joy when they beheld the queen." Archbishop Tenison again officiated, assisted by the dean, while the Archbishop of York (Dr. Sharp) preached, by the Queen's express desire. It is interesting to note that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, afterwards so well known as a literary character, then a girl of thirteen, assisted her mother, the Duchess of Somerset, as a bearer of Anne's train, and that Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, the reigning favourite, performed those duties usually assigned to the Lord Chamberlain. This was the first time that the husband of the Sovereign had to do homage with the great nobles, for Anne was the first wedded queen crowned alone in her own right.

To the Abbey Church Anne was already bound by sad memories. For here, in the vault where she and her husband, Prince George, were afterwards buried, beneath the glorious roof of Henry VII.'s Chapel, were already the remains of their numerous infants. Here, too, only two years before the coronation, and five days after his eleventh birthday, William, Duke of Gloucester, the only one of these children who lived to years, had been sadly laid to rest on July 30th, 1700.

An insignificant detail in the precocious boy's life connects him with Westminster: some trivial verses he himself composed were set to music at Anne's desire by John Church, one of the Abbey choristers, and a former pupil of Purcell's.

There was no striking ceremonial throughout the whole of Anne's reign to link her name with our history. The reredos, sole record of her bounty—and that a gift asked for by the dean and chapter in 1706—was removed about 1824, when a lath-and-plaster one by an Italian replaced it; this in turn gave way to the present altar-piece by Sir Gilbert Scott, erected in 1867. Anne's

reredos was of marble, in the Classic style, totally unsuited to the Gothic architecture of the Abbey. It was supposed to be the work of Inigo Jones, and had been originally made for Whitehall Chapel, but was put away at Hampton Court, where Dean Sprat saw and coveted it for Westminster. Irreparable damage was done to Abbot Ware's beautiful pavement by the workmen who fixed this reredos behind the altar, and, if it had not been for the timely interference of Lord Oxford, the old tiles would all have been broken to pieces. What remains is much injured, but during recent years the dean and chapter have closed the rails, and laid an old Persian carpet over the pavement in order to preserve it from further harm. In Queen Anne's time also the fine tombs north of the altar were closed up with wainscotting, and two pieces* of the tapestry now in the Jerusalem Chamber were hung here—one on each side, north and south.

* Then called by Dart the "Parting of Abraham and Lot," and the "Meeting with Melchisedek," but since re-named.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ATTERBURY, THE PLOTTING DEAN.

A STORY is told of the Duchess of Marlborough which gives a disagreeable picture of the state of the cloisters at this time. They were filled with a crowd of beggars, amongst whom the Duke of Portland, then a schoolboy, remembered seeing the great Sarah, sitting dressed in rags, literally in sackcloth and ashes, making ostentatious moan for the death of her son (1703). Seven years later the chapter was obliged to appoint a constable to keep in order the "divers disorderly beggars daily walking and begging in the Abbey and cloisters, and many idle boys daily coming into the cloisters, who there play at cards and other plays for money, and are often heard to curse and swear."

Of the Duke of Marlborough's victories there are various records in the Abbey, of Blenheim in the tablet to Major Creed, and of Ramilies in that to Colonel Bringfield, aide-de-camp to the duke; his constant attendances at the Abbey services are specially noticed in the inscription. The duke himself lay in the Chapel of Henry VII. (in Cromwell's old vault) for twenty-four years after his death, when his remains were removed to Blenheim. He died on August 9th, 1722, and his body was carried from Marlborough House, followed by a long funeral procession, the expenses of which were defrayed by his duchess, to the west door of the Abbey, where it was received in state by the dean (Atterbury) and canons, vested in their purple funeral copes. Some years later (1736) the widow of Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, tried to borrow the elaborate hearse used on this occasion, to transport her only surviving son's remains (he died at Rome of fever, aged nineteen) to the Abbey. Sarah displayed her usual arrogance in the reply: "It carried my Lord Marl-

borough, and shall never be profaned by any other corpse." Lady Buckinghamshire was, however, ready with the retort: "I have consulted the undertaker, and he tells me that I may have a finer for £20." The beautiful wax figure of the young duke, made for this occasion, was long kept in the Confessor's Chapel; it is now with those of his mother and brother amongst the other effigies.

The first duke, John Sheffield, that great patron of poets, had been interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel fifteen years before the title became extinct in the person of his son. The duchess had attempted to rival the magnificent obsequies of the Duke of Marlborough in the funeral of her husband. He first lay in state at Buckingham House, a red-brick mansion built by Sheffield, and since cleared away to make room for Buckingham Palace, where such crowds flocked to see him that one man was nearly drowned in the fountain. The duchess was very proud of her royal birth: she was an illegitimate descendant of James II., and settled all the display of her own funeral with the Garter King of Arms before her death (1743). After quarrelling with her friend Pope over the epitaph which he composed for her, she insisted on seeing the canopy of the hearse, and "feared dying before the pomp should come home." She carried her pride so far that she made her ladies promise not to sit down in her room after she was dead. A heavy and ostentatious monument marks the vault of the Sheffield family; upon it is a Latin inscription, written by the literary duke himself.

The Churchills and Sheffields have carried us away from the reign of Queen Anne, but little of interest is left to record except the change of deans, from Sprat to Atterbury, which took place a year before Anne's own death. The change from the old and somewhat indolent Sprat to the active new dean was very marked. Atterbury had already taken interest in the Abbey and school: he was intimate with the head-master, Dr. Freind, and is supposed to have written the epitaph on the monument of John Phillips, the author of the "Splendid Shilling," in Poets' Corner, two lines of which, placing Phillips second to Milton alone, were promptly erased by the

Tory Sprat, who considered that even the name of Milton polluted the Abbey walls. Needless to say, Atterbury replaced the obnoxious couplet directly he became dean. Atterbury himself had passed away before full justice was done to the great author of "Paradise Lost," and it was not till 1737 that a monument was erected to him in Poets' Corner.

Many changes took place under the new dean. Wren sent in his report concerning the state of the fabric, immediately after Sprat's death, and part of his extensive restorations was carried out in Atterbury's time; the whole was not completed till between 1731 and 1741, with the help of successive grants from Parliament. Neither architect nor dean was here to see the erection of the western towers, but the north transept was completed, and the dean took a great interest in the restoration, superintending the destruction of the remains of Early English work on the North Front. The glass in the rose window was given by Atterbury and designed by him. In his time, too, the great school dormitory, to which both King and Parliament contributed, was built from Wren's plans. Atterbury had to fight the canons before the dormitory could be begun, as those who had houses in the college garden objected to it, but after several years' combat he finally won his point, and the first stone was laid in 1722: it was not finished till 1730, when Bradford was dean. It would have been better for Atterbury had he confined his attention to the fabric and to searching the archives, an employment which the *Spectator* tells us he found at first "very dry and irksome," but at last he "took an inordinate pleasure in it, and preferred it even to Virgil and Cicero." He left a note-book filled with the Abbey accounts and notes about the fees and the fabric, which is extant at the Deanery. But the Jacobite dean could never cease plotting for the succession of the Pretender. When Anne died he declared nothing remained but to proclaim James III., and offered, if a guard were given him, "to put on his lawn sleeves (as Bishop of Rochester) and head the procession." For the present, however, he was left undisturbed in his post by the Hanoverian King.

Queen Anne died on August 1st, 1714, and was buried privately three weeks later in the vault of Charles II., where her husband and children already lay. The funeral is spoken of by her adherents as a very shabby one, "a few faint tapers" glimmering through the night, and "scanty sables." A day or two before, Thoresby, the journalist, went to the Abbey, "to see the royal vault where the late Queen's corpse is to be deposited, but there being such crowds, I spent two hours in viewing the monuments, and transcribing some of them I had not seen before, and after got in, not without difficulty. It was affecting to see the silent remains of the great monarchs, King Charles II., King William, and Queen Mary, and Prince George, next whom remains only one space to be filled with her late Majesty, Queen Anne, where her bowels are already deposited in a little box, as the rest covered with velvet, and adorned with silver plates, nails, hasps, gilt, etc. This sight was the more affecting to me because when young I saw in one balcony six of them, that afterwards were Kings and Queens of Great Britain, all brisk and hearty, but now all entered upon a boundless eternity." Queen Anne's coffin was an enormous one, bigger even than the large one which contains her "fat, bulky husband," and an eye-witness, who was present when the vault was last opened (1867), said that it was impossible, on account of the state of the coffin, which had burst open, to remain in the vault. It was, however, repaired and fastened up securely by Dean Stanley's orders. At the same time the inscriptions on the coffin plates were copied, and found to correspond with those given in Neale and Brayley's book on the Abbey.

There was no enthusiasm over the coronation of our first Hanoverian king (which took place on October 20th, 1714), a sovereign who was unable to speak the language of his new subjects, and whose ministers did not know German, his native tongue, and were obliged to communicate with him in Latin. With the Abbey the foreign king had absolutely no connection; he was not even buried here, but in his native country. During his reign, however, the royal chapel of Henry VII. became the

temporary chapel of the Knights of the Bath, when Sir Robert Walpole reconstructed the Order in 1725, and the deans of Westminster were appointed perpetual deans to the Order. The chapel had to be fitted up for the installation of the thirty-six knights ; new stalls were added, the canopies for which were obtained by cuttting the old ones in half. A copper plate, emblazoned with his arms, marked the stall of each knight, and over it hung his banner ; upon his death the banner was placed beneath the altar, while the Dead March in *Saul* was played. The installations here continued till 1812, to which date the present banners belong, and all sorts of curious ceremonials used to take place in connection with the knights. Thus, on the anniversary of George I.'s coronation a procession of knights marched to the chapel, where a solemn service was held. After every installation the royal cook used to stand at one of the Abbey doors (first the west door, later on at the Poets' Corner entrance), holding a cleaver, with which he threatened to hew off the spurs from any knight who proved untrue to his knightly vows. Each knight made a low bow to the cook as he passed out of the church to the banquet in the Prince's Chamber at Westminster Palace, and for these formalities he paid a fee of four guineas to the royal official. A picture in the Deanery, painted by Canaletti for Dean Wilcocks in 1747, represents the procession of knights leaving the Abbey after an installation, all picturesquely clad in long red cloaks and wearing large white plumes.

The first warning Atterbury received of the King's disapproving attitude towards himself and his politics was George's ungracious refusal to accept the trimmings and canopy of the chair of state used at the coronation, which were the dean's private perquisites and offered by him to the King. But eight years passed before the lowering clouds of royal disfavour broke and swept the Jacobite dean from his post. During that time the Deanery was the centre of a literary and political circle, for Atterbury was intimate with most of the leading men of the day, and officiated at the funerals or superintended the erection of the monuments of those who were buried in the Abbey while he was dean. Owing in part to his friendship with

Atterbury, Pope was often called upon to compose epitaphs for the monuments of poets and other great men. One, the most pompous of all his funereal verses, commemorates James Craggs, who, dying (1721) with the reputation of an honest and upright statesman, and honoured by a huge monument in the nave inscribed with Pope's eulogy, was afterwards discovered to have been deeply involved in the gigantic fraud called the South Sea Bubble. Craggs's coffin was laid upon that of his friend Addison, whom he had succeeded as Secretary of State, and at whose funeral he had been present as a mourner two years before.

Of both the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, the first literary journals, we have records in the Abbey. Dicky Steele's widow (d. December, 1718), "dearest Prue," has a grave in Poets' Corner, while Addison, who died a few months after her (June 17th, 1719), was buried in Monk's vault in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, where "his loved Montague," the Earl of Halifax, already lay. The great essayist was no stranger to the Abbey in his lifetime, and the description he wrote in the *Spectator* of a nocturnal visit to the tombs must have haunted the friends who composed the torchlight procession which followed his body from the Jerusalem Chamber, where it had lain in state for several days, to the open grave at dead of night. Atterbury, who had loved and honoured the dead statesman in spite of their opposite politics, led the funeral procession by the light of waving torches, carried by Westminster scholars, "round the shrine of St. Edward, and the graves of the Plantagenets," up the steps into Henry VII.'s Chapel, where he read the burial service, and the choir chanted the funeral psalm.

Tickell's description of that "dismal night" should be read by all who visit Addison's grave, where the last lines of the elegy will be seen inscribed on the stone which Lord Ellesmere placed over the vault in the last century. The monument by Westmacott, in Poets' Corner, was not erected till 1808, and inspired Macaulay with a burst of descriptive eloquence, scarcely justified by the taste of the statue, which represents Addison in his dressing-gown,

and not wearing the wig, without which no gentleman of his day appeared abroad. Macaulay makes the just criticism: "It is strange that neither his opulent and noble widow (the Countess of Warwick) nor any of his powerful and attached friends should have thought of placing even a simple tablet inscribed with his name on the walls of the Abbey. It was not till three generations had laughed and wept over his pages that the omission was supplied by the public veneration." The first proposal was to place the monument in the Confessor's Chapel, actually upon the grave of Thomas of Woodstock, and an angry correspondence on the subject was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* in which Carter, the antiquary, accused the Abbey authorities of ransacking the vault of Queen Philippa's youngest son Thomas. In consequence, probably, of this opposition the site was chosen in Poets' Corner, and the dispute ended in a burlesque poem entitled: "The Abbey in an uproar, Woodstock's ghost not yet laid."

Two poets found sepulchre here in Atterbury's time. The one, Nicholas Rowe, poet-laureate, was buried on December 14th, 1718, "over against Chaucer." At night his body was carried from Exeter Exchange by the Company of Upholsterers, and privately interred close by the side of Old Parr, who was reputed to be 152 years old when he died. The other, Matthew Prior, lies by his own wish, expressed to the dean, at the feet of Spenser, and Atterbury wrote to Pope to record his regret that "I had not strength enough to attend Mr. Prior to the grave, else I would have done so to have shown his friends that I had forgot and forgiven what he wrote on me." The dean also respected the poet's wish that the curious triplet* he had composed for his own epitaph should not be inscribed on his grave; instead a laudatory inscription by Prior's old schoolmaster, Dr. Freind, will be found on the monument, which latter was erected by the poet's son with a bequest of £500 left by Prior for the purpose.

The state funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, which

* "To me 'tis given to die—to you 'tis given to live; alas! one moment sets us even—mark how impartial is the will of Heaven."

took place on August 9th, 1722, was the last ceremonial at which Atterbury officiated. He came up to the Deanery from his palace at Bromley in a state of great depression, intending to return after "I have said dust to dust, and shut up that last scene of pompous vanity." But he lingered on at the Deanery, and before many days had passed he was arrested (August 22nd), on the charge of conspiring for the Pretender. The officers of the law found him peacefully sitting at home in a morning dishabille, and, scarcely giving him time to dress, hurried him off to the Tower, where he remained for over seven months. The dean needed all the eloquence for which his sermons were so justly popular, when, in the following summer, he was brought before the House of Lords to plead his own cause. But his oratory was powerless before the hatred of the bishops, and suspicious facts. He was deprived of all his offices and banished—a harsh sentence considering his age and physical infirmities. Outside the House his popularity was great, prayers were offered for his "gout" in all the metropolitan churches, and a cartoon was circulated representing him in prison with a picture of Laud in his hand; beneath the print were some verses calling him a second Laud. During his imprisonment Atterbury had transacted the chapter business as usual, the sub-dean and chapter-clerk being allowed to see him by order of the Secretary of State. At the Westminster school election in June, just before his deprivation, the successful candidates were obliged to go to the Tower to receive the usual confirmation of their election to university scholarships from the imprisoned dean. So far was the royal displeasure carried, that Atterbury's last request—a harmless one enough—was denied him, and he was not allowed to walk again through the Abbey and look once more upon the new transept window, and the building he had loved so well. Crowds assembled at the pier to see him off, when on June 18th, he and his devoted daughter, Mrs. Morice, with her husband, embarked at Dover; and at Calais, by a strange coincidence, he met his old friend Bolingbroke returning from the banishment to which he was himself condemned.

For nine years Atterbury lived on, a solitary exile in France. His interest in the Abbey continued as keen as ever, and he still took part in selecting and composing epitaphs for the new monuments. He died at Paris in February, 1732, and his remains were brought over to England, and privately buried by night in the Abbey nave, according to his own desire. Long before (April 6th, 1722) he had written to his constant friend Pope: "I am at this moment building a vault in the Abbey for me and mine. 'Twas to be in the Abbey because of my relation to the place, but it is at the west door of it, as far from Kings and Kesars (Cæsars) as the space will admit of." He had a special licence from the chapter for this family burial place, and here the coffins of his wife and daughter, both of whom died before him, were removed from other parts of the church. Atterbury was not yet destined to rest in peace. Before his body reached the Abbey, the hearse was stopped by the Custom House officers, who searched it for smuggled brocades and other goods, but found none.

NORTH-WEST PROSPECT OF THE ABBEY, WITH THE SPIRE AS DESIGNED BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.
AFTER A DRAWING BY J. JAMES.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH MOURNING FOR HER SON IN THE CLOISTERS.
(*See p.* 310.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE INFLUENCE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TASTE IN THE ABBEY.

During Atterbury's exile various changes had taken place at home. His successor, Dr. Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle, was installed on June 7th, 1723, before the ex-dean had left England: he had been a prebendary here for twenty years, and was much esteemed for his conciliatory character, so retiring and cautious that he took no prominent part in the government of either the chapter or the country.

Of the various monuments and graves which belong to Bradford's time, two of three names stand out conspicuously, but, unlike Atterbury, the new dean seems to have taken little or no part in their selection. Sir Godfrey Kneller, that spoilt and pampered painter of Court beauties, died in 1723, declaring with his last breath to his friend Pope: "By God, I will not be buried in Westminster Abbey, they do bury fools there." The arrogant artist was accordingly laid to rest in the garden of his own house at Whitton. Before his death he and Pope had disputed about the position of his monument. Kneller wished it to be in Twickenham Church, but Pope objected, because a tablet to his own parents already filled the spot selected. The poet, unfortunately for posterity, carried his point, and Rysbrack's hideous monument was erected, after the directions left in Kneller's will, in the south choir aisle of the Abbey. The inflated epitaph: "Kneller by Heaven and not a master taught," was composed by Pope, who confessed it to be "the worst thing I ever wrote in my life."

The taste of the eighteenth century was working havoc with our beautiful church. The richly-painted screen between St. Andrew's Chapel and the north

transept, which had been enriched by Abbot Kirton, fell before a monstrous monument put up in 1723 to John Holles (d. 1711), Duke of Newcastle, who married the grand-daughter of that "Loyall Duke," whose tomb had long before taken the place of St. Michael's screen. Abbot Esteney's finely-carved screen between St. John's Chapel and the Ambulatory was spared till 1772, when it was displaced for the huge erection in honour of Wolfe.

Right and left of the choir screen are monuments, placed there in Bradford's time, to James, Earl of Stanhope (d. 1720), the famous general in the war of the Spanish Succession, and to Sir Isaac Newton. Newton died in March, 1727, and was buried with some pomp in front of the screen. His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, and was carried to the grave, where he now lies in company with Herschel and Darwin, by distinguished pall-bearers; behind them followed all the Royal Society.

While the great philosopher was thus buried in state, the death of George I., which took place in Hanover (June 11th, 1727), made no mark in the Abbey, for the foreign king was interred in his own country. The new sovereign, George II., loved pageantry and pomp, and his coronation (October 11th, 1727) was therefore more magnificent than that of his father. The jewels with which Queen Caroline's dress blazed were mostly borrowed from the Court ladies or hired from shops, so that (says Lord Hervey) "The appearance of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness." Handel's famous anthem, commencing "Let thy hand be strengthened," was composed for this occasion and was rehearsed in the Abbey before the composer and the young princesses on September 6th. There was some confusion in the coronation ceremonial owing to a quarrel with the dean and chapter, and the *Veni Creator* was omitted by mistake. In the order issued before this, as at other coronations, the way the coaches were to pass to the Abbey is described; no one, even with tickets, was to be admitted after 7 a.m., and no one in a mourning habit.

Two eminent physicians, both friends of the banished dean, died in the following year, 1728, and had monuments

PROCESSION OF KNIGHTS ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CORONATION OF GEORGE I.
(*See p.* 341.)

DR. JOHNSON AND GOLDSMITH IN THE ABBEY.
(*See p.* 329.)

erected to them in the Abbey. The one, Hugh Chamberlain, used to visit Atterbury when in the Tower, and his grateful friend sent an epitaph from his exile abroad to be inscribed on the monument, which was raised by the young Duke of Buckinghamshire, Sheffield's son. The other doctor, John Freind, was brother to the head-master, Robert Freind, author of the long epitaph on his monument, of which Pope said jestingly: "One half will never be believed, the other never read." Though a favourite with both George II., then Prince of Wales, and his queen, Freind was punished for his intimacy with Atterbury by a short imprisonment in the Tower, whence he was released through the interposition of another great doctor, Richard Mead. Mead was one of the first supporters of inoculation for small-pox, but his renown as a collector of books and pictures was even greater than his medical reputation. In 1728 another member of the medical profession, Dr. John Woodward, also passed away. With him Freind and Mead had had continual and acrimonious controversies, frequently ending in duels, which were fought in the narrow lane by the College of Physicians; but Woodward's name will be found with theirs amongst the honoured dead in the great temple of reconciliation, and Mead's monument was afterwards placed (he died 1754) in the same aisle as that of his former adversary.

One more of Atterbury's literary friends, William Congreve, who was considered the first dramatist of his age, died about this time (1729). He was buried with much pomp in the Abbey, with the Prime Minister as one of the pall-bearers. Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, to whom he left most of his fortune, had a monument erected to his memory near the dean's door into the nave, and herself wrote the epitaph. Below Congreve's monument is the grave of the notorious actress, Ann Oldfield, with whom his name was often coupled. While the only actress actually buried within the walls, many other female members of the dramatic profession lie in the cloisters or have monuments here, and several actors* were interred

* The last interment of an actor was that of Sir Henry Irving (d. 1905) in the South Transept.

in Poets' Corner during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Already the Bettertons lay in the cloisters, where their friend Mrs. Bracegirdle joined them in 1748. Barton Booth, whose connection with Westminster is commemorated in Barton and Cowley Streets, has a monument here (1772, forty years after his death), Mrs. Cibber, Mr. and Mrs. Barry, and Foote, are in the cloisters also; Mrs. Pritchard, Henderson, and Garrick's names are in Poets' Corner, while the statues of John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons are in St. Andrew's Chapel. Not only was no objection raised against the burial of Ann Oldfield here, in spite of her ill reputation, but she actually lay in state, like Congreve, in the Jerusalem Chamber. When, later on, the idea of a monument was mooted, it is true that the dean (Wilcocks, who was a member of the chapter at the time of her death) rebelled and refused the favour, but no difficulty was made about her grave.

The change of deans on Bradford's death, May 17th, 1731, was no violent revolution, for the new dean, Wilcocks, had been a prebendary for ten years. But Wilcocks was more active than his predecessor, and not only were the repairs of the fabric, begun under Sprat, finished in his time, the House of Commons granting £40,000 for the purpose in 1744, but under his auspices great improvements were made in the neighbourhood of the Abbey. The small streets were fast being cleared away by order of Parliament, and the first stone of old Westminster Bridge was laid in 1738. Wilcocks helped by having the prebendal houses between the north door and west end pulled down, besides those small tenements south of Henry VII.'s Chapel built right up against the church. Wren had pointed out the danger to the Abbey from fire if these tumble-down buildings were left standing, and, as if to emphasise the risk, a fire actually broke out early in Wilcocks's time in Little Cloisters and the boarding-houses in Little Dean's Yard. Ashburnham House, where the King's library had been kept since 1708, and where the Cotton MSS. were placed in 1730, came back into the possession of the chapter in 1739; but after the fire in 1731, when it was the property of the Crown, the valuable collections referred to were removed

to the old dormitory, and in 1757 taken to the British Museum. In his last year (1753) Wilcocks laid out the Green in Dean's Yard, using the materials from the old dormitory and brew-house, which were pulled down at this time; he also planted six of the elms, which still stand there.

The first royal funeral in the Abbey since that of Anne took place on December 17th, 1737, when Queen Caroline of Anspach was laid in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the first of the new dynasty interred here. The procession began about six in the evening; the way to the Abbey from St. James's Palace was railed in and boarded, the floor covered with black cloth, but the other attempts at pomp failed, for there was so much confusion in the arrangements for the funeral that the psalms were not sung and the lesson actually omitted. But this enlightened royal patroness of merit and learning was not laid to rest without some fitting recognition of her worth, for Handel's beautiful anthem, "The Ways of Zion," better known as "When the ear heard her then it blessed her," composed expressly for his friend and benefactress, was sung.

Six years later the soldier-statesman John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, whose memory lives with good Queen Caroline's in Scott's "Heart of Midlothian," was buried in Poets' Corner, where a monument by Roubiliac marks his grave; above it is now a bust of the great novelist, Sir Walter Scott himself. A dispute between the chapter and Heralds' College, renewed at every royal funeral, over the pall and trappings used for Queen Caroline, to which each side laid claim, went on for years after the Queen's burial—with, however, no definite result. At this time also there was a difference with the Lord Chamberlain about the ownership of the royal chapel of Henry VII., and a paper, drawn up by order of the dean and chapter, will be found printed in Neale and Brayley's book, in which the chapter's claims are fully set forth from the time of Henry VII. So indisputable were these claims that the matter was allowed to drop, and has never since been renewed by the Crown.

Meantime, while the space about the Abbey was being cleared, the west towers were approaching completion,

and early in 1740 they were actually finished, much to the delight of the dean, who admired them so much that he had them carved upon his monument in the Abbey, which was erected by his own wish beneath the south-west tower. These towers are often erroneously spoken of as Wren's, but, in fact, the great architect died before they were begun, leaving only a design for them which was afterwards greatly modified. The *Grub Street Journal* (March 6th, 1735) says: "The west front was never finished, and seems to have been reserved for the able hand of the judicious Mr. Hawkesmore (a pupil of Wren), whose design is to raise the two towers at the extremes of its front with spires thereon, which together will rise 140 feet above the present building, and make the total height equal to 260 feet, the height of the church being 120 feet." Hawkesmore, however, died the year after this eulogy, and the towers were finished under the superintendence of Dickenson, the surveyor of the works, and John James, a well-known architect of the day. Ten years later two shocks of earthquake were experienced in Westminster, and great stones were flung from the new towers: in more recent years other stones have become loose on the battlements, showing the inferiority of the masonry of the eighteenth century to that of earlier times.

The year the towers were completed was also marked by the erection of a monument to Shakespeare in Poets' Corner by public subscription, the idea of removing the great dramatist's bones from Stratford having been definitely abandoned long before.

Year by year the Abbey walls were now being disfigured, and the precious space filled up by memorials and graves. Scheemakers, Rysbrack, Roubiliac, Bird, Westmacott, and many other sculptors, left their mark here in the shape of large and cumbersome monuments, which were gradually blocking up the chapels, and even the windows. It was not till quite late in the nineteenth century—too late to save the architectural features of the nave and transepts from disfigurement—that any suggestion of limiting the number of persons buried or commemorated was expressed, and the consequence

of the earlier prodigality is now felt in the ever-decreasing space left for our great dead. No attempt can be made to follow the funerals and monuments in chronological order as before; and, indeed, the annals of the Abbey themselves no longer have the same burning historical interest as under our earlier sovereigns. Beyond their coronations, and the stones without monuments which mark some of their graves, there is nothing to remind us of the Georges or of their families in the Abbey.

In April, 1748, a distinguished Swedish professor and botanist, Pehr Kalm, visited England, and has recorded his impressions of: "Westminster Abbey Church, where the Kings of England are crowned and buried. We saw here the royal tombs, among which Queen Elizabeth's and the beheaded Scottish Queen Mary's, King Henry VIII.'s (*sic*, evidently Henry VII.), and King William III.'s tombs were well worth seeing. An old chair (*stol*) was shown in this church, which was very badly made, on which all the later English kings for a period of several centuries have sat when they were crowned. Many a poor old woman with only one room has a better and more handsomely made chair than this, but for the sake of its great age, because it had been brought from Scotland as long ago as the thirteenth century by King Edward I., and on account of the prophecy about the stone which lies in this chair:

> 'Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
> Invenient lapidem Regnare tenentur ibidem,'

it is held in so high esteem. There is seldom anyone, who now sees it, who has not the curiosity to sit upon it. At the coronations this chair is overdrawn with costly cloths. Another chair stands beside it, which was made when King William III. and Queen Mary were both crowned at one time. Besides this we saw Sir Isaac Newton's tomb, and the monument erected near it to his memory. One thing struck me particularly, that they not only erected here monuments and epitaphs to such well-deserving men who had been buried in this church, but also in honour of such as had their resting-place elsewhere, even for such as had not been of the English

nation, and perhaps had never been in England, but either through heroic actions or their learned writings, had won the love and esteem of the English nation."

The above comment, written more than a century and a half ago, still applies to our Abbey memorials, and is attested by the window in the lobby of the Chapter-house to the American, James Russell Lowell, and by the medallion set above Handel's monument to the "Swedish nightingale," Jenny Lind.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FUNERALS OF ROYAL AND OTHER NOTABLE PERSONS.

THERE was one other royal burial in Wilcocks's time—that of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died on March 31st, 1751. The funeral took place at nine p.m. on February 13th; the guards, who kept watch at the south door all night, held lighted torches, while the funeral procession, which was met by the dean and canons at the east cloister door, filed up to Henry VII.'s Chapel in "a silence that if possible added to the solemnity of so awful a sight." There was no organ or anthem, but two drums beat the Dead March during service, and outside the great bells of the Abbey, St. Paul's, and all the London churches tolled throughout the night. Yet, in spite of all this outward pomp of grief, no monument was raised to the heir-apparent's memory.

When old Dean Wilcocks died, in 1756, he was succeeded by one of Queen Caroline's *protégés*—Zachary Pearce, Bishop of Bangor—a name chiefly remembered in our annals as the vandal dean who would have removed Aymer de Valence's beautiful tomb in order to make room for Wilton's disfiguring cenotaph to Wolfe, had not Horace Walpole providentially interposed. So ignorant of history and art was Pearce that he "was wrought upon by being told that *hight* Aymer was a templar, a very wicked set of people as his Lordship had heard, though he knew nothing of them as they are not mentioned by Longinus." Horace, therefore, "wrote to his Lordship expressing my concern that one of the finest and most ancient monuments in the Abbey should be removed, and begging, if it was removed, that he would bestow it on one who would erect and preserve it at Strawberry Hill. After a fortnight's deliberation the Bishop sent me an answer, civil indeed, and commending my zeal for

antiquity, but avowing the story under his own hand, he said that at first they had taken Pembroke's tomb for a Knight Templar's; that upon discovering whose it was he had been very unwilling to consent to the removal, and at last had obliged Wilton to engage to set the monument up within ten feet of where it stands at present."

In Walpole's time (about 1777), too, the decaying figures still on the back of the sedilia were discovered, but hidden again behind the new altar-piece. "And so they have a very fine tomb of Ann of Cleve, close to the altar, which they did not know till I told them whose it was, though her arms are upon it, and though there is an exact plate of it in Sandford. . . . It was the present bishop-dean (Thomas) who showed me the pictures and Ann's tomb, and consulted me on the altar-piece. I advised him to have a light octangular canopy, like the cross at Chichester, placed over the table or altar itself, which would have given dignity to it, if elevated by a flight of steps, and, from the side arches of the octagon, I should have had a semicircle of open arches that should have advanced quite to the seats of the prebends, and through the octagon itself you would have perceived the shrine of Edward the Confessor, which is much higher than the level of the choir; but men who ask advice seldom follow it, if you do not happen to light on the same idea as themselves."

Yet although this patron of art thus chided the deans, he himself contributed to the degeneracy of taste which was daily disfiguring the Abbey, by a standing statue of his mother, Sir Robert's first wife, which Horace was allowed to place in the royal chapel of Henry VII. on paying forty pounds for the ground. The Nightingale monument, where a skeleton is snatching a wife from her husband's arms, put up under Pearce in 1758, is the most popular example of the taste of the day. Roubiliac was the sculptor, and Goldsmith's complaint of the prominence given to him is very just. "I find in Westminster Abbey," he says, "several new monuments erected to the memory of several great men. The names of the great men I absolutely forget, but I well remember that Roubiliac was the statuary who carved them . . . .

alas! alas! cried I, such monuments confer honour, not on the great men, but on little Roubiliac." Perhaps these reflections of Goldsmith's were poured out to Dr. Johnson when the pair roamed together in the Abbey, where the great doctor could point with pardonable pride to many a long-winded inscription in which he had had a hand. Later on, when Goldsmith lay in the Temple churchyard (died 1774), and it was proposed to place a monument to his memory in Poets' Corner, Nollekins, not "Little Roubiliac," was the sculptor; the inscription, a long Latin one, was composed by Johnson himself, and the situation, close to Gay and Rowe, was selected by no less a person than Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In his "Citizen of the World" (published 1763), Goldsmith openly taunted the dean and chapter with their greedy desire for fees: his sarcastic description of a visit to the Abbey gives, no doubt, an accurate picture of the state of things at that time and long afterwards. Since 1697 the fees received for showing the tombs had gone to the minor canons and "gentlemen of the choir," on condition that they kept the monuments clean. The privilege was, however, usually farmed out to ignorant persons, and the conditions required were not observed. In the early nineteeth century the fees amounted to 1s. 11d., besides which sum extra gratuities were expected; in 1821 a new order was made fixing the whole fee as 2s., and in 1825 it was lowered to 1s. 3d. Finally the minor canons protested against the whole system, and matters were gradually improved till the present arrangement was made, by which all the clergy and officials receive their fixed stipends, and the fees go to the "ornamentation fund," *i.e.* to the services and preservation of the monuments, etc. In 1826 the nave and transepts were first opened free of charge under Dean Ireland, and Poets' Corner was for long used as a thoroughfare till restrictions were made; in 1841, by the suggestion of Lord John Thynne, all the fees were lowered, and, after Dean Stanley's death, by his wish, the chapels were thrown open free to the public on Mondays and Tuesdays.

George II. died on October 25th, 1760, and his embalmed body was laid in his wife's vault in Henry VII.'s

Chapel on Tuesday, November 11th. In order to carry out the late King's desire that the bones of husband and wife might be mingled together, the sides of both coffins were taken out and the two enclosed in a black marble sarcophagus. Horace Walpole's inimitable accounts of the funeral of George II. and of the Coronation of George III. are too well known to bear repetition *in extenso,* while the reports in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of both ceremonies give merely formal details. Walpole, who walked as "a rag of quality" in the procession, describes the illumination of the church for the funeral, which took place at night on November the 11th, as very impressive, the Abbey showing "to greater advantage than by day, the tombs, long aisles, and fretted roof all appearing distinctly and with the happiest chiaroscuro. When we came to the chapel of Henry VII. all solemnity and decorum ceased, no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would, the yeomen of the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin; the bishop (Pearce), read sadly and blundered in the prayers; the fine chapter 'Man that is born of a woman,' was chanted not read, and the anthem, besides being immeasurably tedious, was more fit for a nuptial than a funeral."

Who that has once read it can forget the rest of this theatrical scene—the Duke of Cumberland, bloated and fat, with one foot already in the grave, standing above the open vault of his father, into which "he must himself so soon* descend, think how unpleasant a situation!" Walpole goes on to contrast this solemn figure with the burlesque Duke of Newcastle, who, after rushing about the chapel with his glass to spy who was or who was not there—spying with one hand and mopping his eyes with the other—eventually firmly placed himself on Cumberland's train in order to avoid the chill of the marble, while the other poor duke was nearly sinking with the heat.

Horace on the coronation is even more amusing, but, as he confined himself chiefly to the appearance of the various peeresses with whom he was acquainted, and to

* He died October 31st, 1765.

chuckling over the misadventure of the champion, who had trained his horse to go backwards so successfully that it entered the hall with its tail to the King, there is little relating to the scene in the Abbey. The coronation of George III. roused much more enthusiasm than that of his father. The price of tickets went up to an enormous sum—ten guineas for front seats in the Abbey, and as high as one hundred and fifty guineas for a room outside. A new element in the procession was the presence of the Sovereign's mother, for the first time since the reign of Henry VII., when Margaret of Richmond appeared at her son's coronation. The Princess Augusta, followed by all her children, walked across Old Palace Yard shortly before the King's procession. "Her train, which was of silk was but short, and therefore not borne by any person, her hair flowed down her shoulders in hanging curls," upon them a circlet of diamonds. The procession was closed by three Mahometan ambassadors in Turkish dress. There seems to have been much confusion both inside and out. Outside, there was a short scuffle between the soldiers on guard and some sailors, who insisted on climbing to the soldiers' platform, and were finally allowed to stay there by Lord Ligonier, commander-in-chief. The guard had to beat the mob on the head to keep order, but those who tipped them were allowed to slip through on to the blue cloth. Inside there "were such long pauses between some of the ceremonies, as plainly showed all the actors were not perfect in their parts." Bishop Newton, then a prebendary, commended the King's behaviour, "particularly his manner of ascending and seating himself on his throne after his coronation. No actor in the character of Pyrrhus in the *Distrest Mother,* not even Booth himself, who was celebrated for it in the *Spectator,* ever ascended the throne with so much grace and dignity." He noticed, however, that "when the King approached the communion table in order to receive the sacrament he enquired of the archbishop (Secker) whether he should lay aside his crown. The archbishop asked the Bishop of Rochester (Dean Pearce), but neither of them knew or could say what had been the usual form." The King settled the

question by taking it off, but the Queen had to keep her coronet on as it was fastened to her hair. Amongst the crowd who thronged in Westminster Hall after the coronation that day was, it is said, no less a person than George's Stuart rival, the young Pretender, who was travelling under the name of Mr. Brown, but the story rests on no secure foundation, and is probably a myth.

In 1768, Pearce, weary of "decanal cares," as he tells us in his poem "The Wish," retired to Bromley, and John Thomas, one of the prebendaries, succeeded him at Westminster—not, however, becoming Bishop of Rochester till Pearce's death in 1774. Thomas, the "octogenarian dean," retained both posts till his death, in 1793; but he also spent his last years at Bromley, where he repaired the Bishop's palace, which had again fallen into a ruinous condition. Dr. Pearce officiated and preached at the funeral of Handel (April 20th, 1759), which, although nominally a private one at 8 o'clock in the evening, was attended by a vast concourse of persons of all ranks not fewer than 3,000 in number. The monument in Poets' Corner, for which Handel had left £600, was unveiled on July 10th, 1762, and the figure, by Roubiliac, is said to be the best portrait of the great composer in existence, the features being from a cast taken after death.

In Thomas's time the centenary of Handel's birth was commemorated (May, 1784) by a festival service in the Abbey, the first of its kind. The performance lasted four days and attracted an audience of about 10,480 persons, who besieged the doors of the Abbey from early dawn till they were opened at 10 a.m., but "except dishevelled hair and torn garments, no real mischief seems to have happened." The profits from the sale of seats, the price of which was a guinea, were divided on the first day between the musical fund and the Westminster Infirmary,* and afterwards devoted to the former charity, to which Handel had left money in his will. A temporary organ, built for Canterbury Cathedral, was erected at the west end, and the orchestra and choir amounted to six hun-

* Since this time the profits of other musical festivals in the Abbey have occasionally been given to Westminster Hospital.

dred persons. At the east end, before the choir screen, were thrones for the King and Queen, who arrived at twelve o'clock; on their right sat the bishops, on their left the dean and chapter. The music consisted entirely of Handel's compositions. A striking scene took place at the end, when the "Hallelujah" chorus was sung, and, seeing the King rise to his feet weeping with emotion, the vast audience stood up—a custom which has been observed during this chorus ever since. Dr. Arnold, one of our greatest English composers, who was a sub-director on this occasion (Dr. Bates was the conductor), became organist at the Abbey in 1793, and was buried in the north aisle of the choir in 1802. Close to his grave in this, "The Musicians' Aisle," is the tablet of Dr. Burney, father of the novelist, Fanny Burney, and author of the well-known history of music, who also wrote an account of this festival. Since that there have been other Handel celebrations in the Abbey, one organised by Sir George Smart in 1834, but the anniversary festivals are now held at the Crystal Palace.

Twice in the course of ten years, the custom of torchlight funerals in the Abbey had caused tumultuous scenes in the church and much damage to the monuments, so, after the burial of Elizabeth Percy,* Duchess of Northumberland (December, 1776), only royal persons were allowed to be interred at night. Pearce was dean when, in 1765, at the funeral of his patron, Pulteney, Earl of Bath, a disgraceful scene of confusion took place. Carter, the antiquary, as a boy of about seventeen "attended to see the ceremony, which was by torchlight, opposite the tomb of Edward I. in the aisle below. I stood with many others on the tomb. The crowd and confusion was so great that several gentlemen, thinking it necessary to defend (for their own and the company's safety) the stairs into the chapel of the Confessor, not only drew their swords, but tore down the oak canopy above Edward's memorial to convert it into weapons. In such state it now (1817) remains." But since Carter's day the fragments of the canopy have been quite cleared away.

* The Percy family is the last which has a vault in the Abbey with the right of burial there.

On the second occasion, in 1776, at the duchess's funeral worse damage was done. The procession left Northumberland House about ten o'clock and was met at the west door by the dean (Thomas) and canons with full choir. "Early in the evening many persons had gained admittance within the iron gate that leads to the Chapel of St. Nicholas," where is the family vault. "A number of men and boys had climbed up and seated themselves over the front of St. Edmund's Chapel, which joins to that of St. Nicholas. The dean and attendants had not passed the above mentioned place above three minutes before the whole front came down, consisting of thick heavy oak with iron bars and part of the stonework, supposed in the whole to be upwards of three tons weight" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776). "The confusion and uproar that ensued may be more easily conceived than described. Numbers had their limbs broke or were otherwise most terribly hurt. This accident put an effectual stop to the ceremony, the dean and his attendants, after resting the body in St. Edmund's Chapel, were obliged to withdraw for some time, upon which the crowd, thinking no more was to be seen, thought proper to disperse so as to give the dean an opportunity of going through the service between one and two o'clock, about two hours and a half after the body entered the Abbey, and even now it was interrupted by frequent cries of 'murder,' raised by such of the sufferers as had not been removed" (*Annual Register*, 1776).

One by one the group of friends, some of whom had been wont to meet at the Deanery to consult with Pope and Atterbury about epitaphs and monuments, had passed away. Goldsmith died in 1774, and five years later (1779), Johnson's old pupil, Garrick—a link between him and his penniless youth—received an honoured grave in Poets' Corner. Such a funeral had not been witnessed here for many a year. So great a throng of mourners choked the streets that a guard of soldiers had to be called out. From Adelphi Terrace, Strand, where the great tragedian died, to the Abbey, was an endless line of funeral coaches filled with private friends and admirers. The west door was thrown open as if for a royal corpse, and there

stood old Dean Thomas in his episcopal robes, behind him the canons and choir, all waiting to receive the coffin of an actor. Peers and poets, actors and men of letters, all thronged after their dead friend—Gibbon the historian, Burke the statesman, Reynolds the painter, and Johnson himself, who was noticed by Cumberland the actor "standing at the foot of Shakespeare's monument and bathed in tears." Five years more (December 20th, 1784) and the coffin of Johnson was laid beside that of his dear David. Boswell tell us that the doctor had felt "a satisfaction very natural to a poet," on being told that he would doubtless be buried in the Abbey, that Abbey where he had so often attended the funerals of his literary friends or walked with them during their lives. His coffin was placed close to Garrick's, and "followed to the Abbey by a large troop of friends—particularly such of the members of the Literary Club as were in town" (Boswell). "Ten mourning coaches," says young Charles Burney in a letter to Dr. Parr, "were ordered by the executors for those invited. Besides these, eight of his friends or admirers clubbed for two more carriages in one of which I had a seat. But the executor, Sir John Hawkins, did not manage things well, for there was no anthem or choir service performed, no lesson, but merely what is read over every old woman that is buried by the parish. Surely, surely, my dear sir, this was wrong, very wrong. Dr. Taylor" (Johnson's old schoolfellow at Lichfield) "read the service but so so. He lies nearly under Shakespeare's monument, with Garrick at his right hand, just opposite the monument erected not long ago for Goldsmith by him and some of his friends." A blue flag, the same laid down at the time of his death, with the original flaw left still in the stone, marks Johnson's last resting-place, a more dignified memorial in truth than the "harlequin" figure with its "farrago of false thoughts and nonsense," as Charles Lamb justly calls the monument erected to Garrick.

At Johnson's funeral Garrick's widow, a little, bent woman leaning on a gold stick, the once famous dancer, Violante, was observed gazing again into her husband's vault. She outlived all her contemporaries, and it was

not till 1822, forty-three years after Garrick's death, that her body was at length laid beside his—wrapped, according to her desire, in their wedding sheets. Two friends of hers who tried to attend her funeral were, like Goldsmith before them, much annoyed by the cupidity of the vergers. They were refused admittance "by a person who observed, 'If it be your wish to see the wax-works you must come when the funeral is over, and you will then be admitted into Poets' Corner by a man who is stationed at the door to receive your money.' 'Curse the waxworks,' said I, 'this lady and I came to see Mrs. Garrick's remains placed in the grave.' 'Ah well, you can't come in—the dean won't allow it.' After the ceremony was over we were admitted for sixpence at the Poets' Corner, and there we saw the earth that surrounded the grave and no more, as we refused to pay the demands of the showmen of the Abbey."*

Of one royal funeral which took place in Thomas's time—that of Princess Amelia (died 1786), daughter of George II. and aunt of the reigning king—there is a full account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, part of which is given here in illustration of the burials of the other royalties under the Georges:—"A gallery was erected over the eastern part of the chapel (Henry VII.). . . . Clusters of lights depended from the groins and in the centre of the chapel the pavement was taken up, leaving sufficient room for receiving the corpse into the vaults underneath, which is performed by means of machinery after the manner of a theatrical trap-door. From the adjoining palace, a platform ran to the door of the church by Poets' Corner for the procession, lined with armed soldiers, and at certain distances stood unarmed soldiers with tapers in their hands. . . . The procession was met at the said door by the clergy in full numbers, all with lighted tapers (antiquity again!), and in this manner proceeded to the chapel, a solemn anthem being sung during the procession. The corpse was then laid on the false flooring of the machinery when the funeral service commenced. At its conclusion another anthem ended this last sad office to departed royalty. The happy unity of

* Smiths's "Book for a Rainy Day."

MR. TUFFIN LOCKED IN THE ROYAL VAULT.
(*See p.* 337.)

THE NORTH TRANSEPT ("THE STATESMEN'S AISLE").

the time of the musick to the descent of the body was particularly striking, which, as the anthem proceeded, insensibly sunk till it was out of sight, and what gave the whole a more forcible effect—was that at particular parts of the composition were rests (or cessation of sounds) when another happy combination was heard—the minute guns in the Park."

A curious adventure had happened the day before, when the vault was opened ready for the funeral. "A gentleman (Mr. Tuffin), well known for his minute research into everything gratifying and instructive, by paying the workmen, got down into the vault in the afternoon with intent to transcribe some of the inscriptions upon the coffins. He had procured a wax taper, and, in the intenseness of his search, time passed away unperceived. At length, his pursuit was interrupted. A soldier had secreted himself, and in the absence of the workmen, was attempting to pull off one of the silver plates from the coffin next him. The gentleman prevented him and the villain escaped. Soon after this, while the curious visitant was copying the inscription on the coffin of the late Duke of Cumberland, he was alarmed by the falling noise of the trapdoor of the vault, and heard the outer gate of the Abbey ring upon its hinges, the bolts were secured, and he found himself locked in among the dead. Speedily after this his taper went out and he remained in total darkness. In this unpleasant situation the night at length passed over. Morning, however, released him from the grave and he walked home, but was immediately taken ill and confined for six weeks to his room" (*Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 30th September, 1790).

CHAPTER XL.

THE ABBEY IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

On the death of Thomas (1793), Samuel Horsley succeeded him as dean and bishop. His promotion, it is said, was partly due to an eloquent sermon, which he had preached in the Abbey before the House of Lords at the service held annually in memory of Charles I. on January 30th—a date which this year nearly coincided with the execution of Louis XVI., and gave Horsley a theme for his discourse, in the danger of revolutions. So enthusiastic were the audience that they rose to their feet with one accord as he began his peroration. Horsley was an active dean, a change from his aged and somewhat decrepit predecessor, and during his short tenure of office he much improved the condition of the clergy and choir at the Abbey. Although his manner was pompous and his temper somewhat irritable, he was very popular, and, when he left the Deanery in 1802 for the bishopric of St. Asaph's, he received an address from the precentor, minor canons, and lay clerks, expressing their gratitude. He died at Brighton, October 4th, 1806, and was buried at St. Mary's, Newington Butts ; the Abbey choir attended his funeral and a memorial service was held in the Abbey.

In 1799, during Horsley's time, a series of letters appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which gave a deplorable description of the Abbey and its precincts. Houses still blocked up and darkened the north side, the west front and portal were much damaged, and an iron railing had lately been put up in front because a man had shot himself there. Henry VII.'s Chapel was rapidly decaying, the windows broken, and the mullions hacked away ; the chapter is accused of having had a

carriage-way cut through one of the buttresses of the Chapter House, while the Deanery was disfigured by modern sash windows, brick parapets, etc., and the Jerusalem Chamber by stuccoed ornaments and new panelling. The portrait of Richard II. was then in the Chamber. The writer, probably the architect Carter, who was always at war with the chapter, tells us that Henry V.'s shield and saddle had lately been restored to the bar, whence they had been removed. He speaks of the wooden case which contained Monk's cap and armour, and of the gradual decay of the wax effigy of Charles II.

The indictment was doubtless well deserved, for Thomas, who had been zealous in his post at first—the choir had been refitted under his rule—had, owing to age and infirmities, withdrawn to Bromley long before his death, leaving his duties at the Abbey unfulfilled, while Horsley's benefits were confined to the choir and clergy. The combination of the poverty-stricken see of Rochester with the Deanery had been a great disadvantage to the Abbey, but Horsley was the last dean who held both preferments.

Dr. Vincent, head-master of Westminster School, succeeded Horsley in August, 1802, and at once turned his attention to the state of the fabric: during the twelve years he was dean he devoted himself to the restoration of Henry VII.'s Chapel, and generally to the preservation of the whole church. An MS. note-book in Vincent's own hand, still preserved at the Deanery, gives a minute account of all that was done to the fabric, and of the chapter business while he was dean—a striking testimony to his zeal and activity. Besides chronicling the Abbey annals of his own day, he analysed Flete's manuscript, and compared a useful account of the records made by Widmore, librarian here in the middle of the eighteenth century, with the original documents. Vincent's remarks on Flete's chronicle are interesting. He points out that the accounts of the abbots are very barren, the most space being devoted to their burials and anniversaries; Barking and Langham are Flete's principal favourites, while the authorities used by the chronicler are sometimes fictitious, and always dubious, thus rendering his

accounts of the foundation of the monastery of little or no value except as traditions.

The chapter-books were also carefully examined by Vincent. The first book dates from October 14th, 1542, showing that the chapter did not begin to sit till two years after the surrender, unless eighty-nine leaves cut out contained transactions not sanctioned. The book ceases between 1556 and July 5th, 1560; there is no record in it of Feckenham's abbacy. The second volume, begun in 1609, ends on May 24th, 1642, with the Parliamentary Commissioners. After Atterbury's exile there are various orders in the chapter-book contrary to the statutes, and encroaching on the power of the dean: these probably originated with Wilcocks, who resisted Bradford's authority in every way when a prebendary, but resumed all the decanal privileges after he became dean. Vincent has also chronicled some curious old customs and interesting facts. At the coronations all ornaments of the pulpit, with the linen and woollen stuffs used, were the perquisites of the monastery; the abbot received a red robe from the king, six ells of black cloth and a piece of black worsted double. On the coronation day one hundred loaves, eighty-eight gallons of wine, and a portion of fish, "worthy the royal munificence," were to be given to the convent, whose brethren promised to pray for the Sovereign's prosperous reign if this bounty were granted.

On July 9th, 1803, a fire broke out in the lantern of the church owing to the neglect of the plumbers: the whole roof of the tower fell in, but fortunately the flames were prevented from spreading further in the roof by the four canvas screens which then fitted the sides of the tower above, and stopped the draught. The chapter paid for the repairs, which cost £3,870, without applying to Parliament; but two years passed before the choir could be re-opened for the services, which were held meantime in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The presence of workmen in the roof of the Abbey was due to the constant repairs necessary to keep the fabric in order.

After the damage done by the fire had been made good, Vincent turned his attention to the ruinous state of

Henry VII.'s Chapel, which had gone from bad to worse since the protests in 1799. The fabric fund, then about £1,300 to £1,500 a year, barely sufficed to keep up the repairs, far less to restore any part of the church. In 1805 Vincent therefore addressed a petition to Parliament, in a letter to Pitt, praying for a national grant towards the restoration of the royal chapel; and a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to consider the question, with a favourable result. From 1807 to 1814 annual grants (about £42,000 altogether) were given by Parliament for this purpose, only checked by temporary disputes over the amount necessary with the dean and chapter, who also contributed from their own funds. The restoration was superintended first by Gayfere, clerk of the works at the time, but afterwards (1814) the architect Wyatt was appointed surveyor, an appointment which caused much vexation to Vincent, who could not obtain any recognition of Gayfere's seven years' service from the Treasury. The old dean did not live to see the full result of his labours, as the restoration of the chapel was not finished till the end of 1822.

While Vincent was dean two great political leaders—the younger Pitt* and Charles James Fox†—were laid, within a few months and within a few feet of each other, in the north transept: a part of the Abbey dedicated, since the burial of Pitt's father, Lord Chatham, to the graves and monuments of statesmen. Twenty-eight years before, Pitt had been chief mourner at the public funeral by which the country had testified its grief at the great minister's death. In the meantime a huge monument by John Bacon had been raised, at the cost of £6,000, to his memory; while a wax figure dressed in his parliamentary robes was placed amongst the other effigies, for the sake of the extra fee obtained for showing it in the furore of popularity after the funeral, and is another record of Chatham in the Abbey. His vault was opened to receive the body of his brilliant second son, a worthy successor to his father in his official post: he became Prime Minister in 1783, at the age of twenty-four. The younger Pitt died

* Died January 23, 1806; buried February 22.
† Died September 13, 1806; buried October 13.

insolvent, and received a funeral at the public expense: a monument was erected to his memory at the west end of the Abbey, and that of Fox was afterwards removed to the same part of the nave from the north transept. One by one modern statesmen have been buried or commemorated in the "Statesmen's Aisle," and the series of white statues, headed by Sir Robert Peel addressing the House of Commons in a Roman toga, is closed at present by those of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone.

Vincent died on December 21st, 1815, and was buried in St. Benedict's Chapel. A tablet to his memory was afterwards appropriately placed between the monuments of Busby and South. "In the cloisters of this college," as his epitaph records, he had been reared, and hither he returned as a humble usher from the university, rising step by step in the school till he became headmaster, and ended his long life (seventy-seven years) as dean of his beloved church, "the sole object of his affections." His generous gift of ten acres in Tothill Fields as a cricket field and playground for the Westminster boys—now known as Vincent's Square—remains an abiding mark of his affection for the school.

John Ireland, one of the prebendaries, was installed dean on the 6th of February, 1816. The fame of Ireland's benefactions to Oxford scholars has eclipsed for posterity the many years he spent at the Westminster deanery, and indeed the last part of the aged scholar's career was passed chiefly in country retirement at Islip. Three coronations took place at the Abbey during Ireland's long rule of twenty-six years. At the last, that of Queen Victoria, age and infirmities prevented the dean's appearance, and his official duties were delegated to the subdean, Lord John Thynne. Although two reigning sovereigns died while Ireland was dean, there was no solemn pageant of a royal funeral here, for, with the burial of George III. at Windsor, the sepulchre of the Royal Family was transferred there.

A revival of the Abbey's ancient place as the national sepulchre for the greatest and wisest of the English race had, however, already begun, and was to reach its height of popularity under the modern deans. Had it not been,

indeed, for the graves and monuments of those statesmen, philanthropists, and other men of mark whose names were "scratched on the Abbey stones" during Ireland's time, the years of his rule would have been wholly uneventful. But the funeral of the unpopular Castlereagh, in 1822, was more notable than any since the turbulent interment of the Duchess of Northumberland in 1776. At Castlereagh's funeral the procession had to pass through a raging mob outside the Abbey, and the mourners had literally to fight their way into the church.

Orderly and reverent crowds followed the bier of the great minister George Canning (d. 1827), through torrents of almost tropical rain, to his grave near the Pitt vault in the north transept. Thirty-five years later (1862) his son, Earl Canning, of Indian fame, and first Viceroy of India, was borne to the same sepulchre, followed by some of those noble men who had shared with him in the horrors of the Indian Mutiny. "'It was a touching sight to see Lord Clyde supporting Outram as they followed Lord Canning's corpse up the aisle of Westminster Abbey.' They had often and long been hostile, and rivals in India, but 'had grown to like and esteem one another'; and both soon followed Lord Canning to the grave: indeed, the exertion of attending his funeral probably accelerated Outram's death" (Hare's "Two Noble Lives"). In the Abbey we shall find the names of the heroes of the Indian Empire, conspicuous amongst them the bust of the great Lord Lawrence, but these belong to later days than those of Dean Ireland. A memorial of the early troubles of English rule in India is the bust of Warren Hastings, placed in 1819 in the north transept. To the two statues of the Cannings, father and son, a third, that of their relative Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was added under Dean Bradley.

It is interesting to recall the burial of the Irish patriot Grattan (June, 1820), who was interred in Dean Ireland's time in the north transept, by the earnest desire of his English political friends, although the patriot himself had yearned to rest in his native country.

The nave, where many an obscure person's coffin had intruded earlier in the century and filled the precious

space, was not without some honoured names during Dean Ireland's rule. There is, for instance, the geographer Rennell (1830), close to whose grave, as a founder of the African Society, the bones of Livingstone, brought here over land and sea by his faithful black servants, were interred in 1874. Telford (died 1834), engineer of the first bridge over the Menai Straits, was buried in the nave, and his grave afterwards attracted his greater successor, Robert Stephenson (died 1859), who lies, by his own desire, close to Telford. The bust of Zachary Macaulay (died 1838), so distinguished for his efforts to put down the African slave trade, is appropriately near the monument of Fox, with its emblems of emancipation, and the philanthropist's name was again recorded in the Abbey when the bust of his more famous son—the historian, Lord Macaulay (buried January 9th, 1860)—was placed, over thirty years later, on the "historical" side of the south transept, near his grave. The names of the jurist and historian Sir James Mackintosh (died 1832), and of Fox's nephew, Lord Holland (died 1840), complete the important memorials of Ireland's time in the nave; but in other parts of the Abbey will be found monuments of another philanthropist—William Wilberforce (died 1833), and of another great engineer—James Watt (died 1819), the improver of the steam engine.

CHAPTER XLI.

THREE CORONATIONS.

The coronation of George IV., chiefly memorable for its enormous cost—over £243,390—and for the undignified attempt of his repudiated wife to force an entrance, was postponed for a year, partly on account of the Queen's trial, partly because the choir was entirely refitted under the direction of the architect, James Wyatt. From May, 1820, till March, 1822, with the exception of the coronation day, the 19th of July, 1821, the choir was closed and services held in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Sir Walter Scott has so vividly described the pomp of the ceremony, and Dean Stanley so minutely chronicled the three futile attempts of Queen Caroline to enter the church, that no later historian can attempt to rival their accounts of the event. But from some private letters, written by a young lady then on a visit to London, the following lively description of the ceremony has been extracted:

"... When we first entered the nave through the cloisters, at a little past three in the morning, it was full of soldiers, guards, who were bivouacking on the floor. We saw them stretched on the platform through the dusky light. Their sleep was soon disturbed by their officers, who from time to time roused them and made them go through some evolutions, shouldering and grounding their arms, etc. These guards, who lined the nave during the whole ceremony, were so well chosen, that not only the line of their heads, all above six feet from the ground, but their shoulders and knees all were on a precise level. The bustle of officers, and even ladies walking through the nave, of brushing the bright purple cloth which covered the platforms, both within and without the Abbey, and the hurry of preparations went on with intervals of military musick and many false alarms

till near 11 o'clock, when the procession was announced. . . . . It was preceded by seven herb-women bearing large baskets and strewing shreds of flowers plentifully over the purple cloth. This was a very pretty sight; they were the only women in the whole ceremony. They were followed by serjeants in chancery, yeomen, heralds, etc., in full costume. I will not attempt to give you a detail of every set of men as they came in, but mention the handsomest and most striking in costume. The judges looked but ill, their unpowdered ermine over red cloth had a dirty effect. The bishops in their black and lawn sleeves appeared well from their simplicity beside the unusual glitter. The Archbishops of York and Canterbury are two very fine men. The Privy Councillors not peers immediately preceded the nobles. They were very splendid in bright blue satin and gold. By-the-bye you are to understand that all the dresses were of the time of Queen Elizabeth, consequently all the men had ruffs of various sizes. Among the Privy Councillors I saw George Canning and Mr. Pragge Bathurst in deep conversation with Lord Londonderry, who immediately followed them and who intervened between them and the barons. Lord Londonderry was dressed in the full costume of a Knight of the Garter very magnificently and with the finest effect of any. His train, supported by pages, was of purple velvet, and his black velvet hat was surrounded by a band an inch and a half deep of diamonds, and a diamond agraffe turned it up in front. This nobleman was the only one of all the peers who fully looked his station. He is remarkably handsome, dignified, and sensible looking. The barons followed, perhaps about fifty in number. Viscounts, earls, marquesses succeeded, and their pages and standard bearers. They were very sumptuous all with crimson velvet mantles. Among them I distinguished Lord Gosford; Lord Calthorpe, as bearer of the golden spurs—a right he exercised, much to the King's despite, as nearest male heir to Lady Guy de Ruthyn—walked between Lord Anglesey and the Duke of Wellington. He looked better than when he was at our house last, but still most haggard, and his knees knocked together. Prince Leopold, the first who came of the Royal Family,

was attired exactly like Lord Londonderry, and he looked most kingly. I never saw a more noble, sensible, collected face and deportment; grave almost to severity, without harshness, he looked a man one must respect and might adore, quite of another race to the thick, heavy, stupid-looking Royal Family who followed him. Of them the Duke of Gloster is the handsomest, but he is foolish looking; the Duke of Cambridge is the most *good* looking, and the Duke of Sussex the biggest. The King followed, overloaded with finery, which produced no good effect; he preceded the canopy, which was of gold tissue and carried by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. His Majesty looked pretty well in health, but wonderfully like an immense old woman in person, with a wig with long flowing curls which hung full a quarter of a yard over his shoulders. He wore a cap of maintenance in going, and a crimson robe. In returning, the crown, the borrowed crown which belongs to Rundell and Bridges, was on his head and his sceptre was in his hand, and his train of embroidered purple velvet. He looked then most wretchedly fatigued and worn, and as pale as death—still he looked royal and gracious. The acclamations when he embraced the Duke of York, his first subject, and the shouts which filled the noble Abbey when he was crowned and when he left the choir, were indeed electrifying. As I write I still thrill at the remembrance, and our grand anthem, 'God Save the King,' was sung nobly and filled the Abbey finely. As he returned with his crown, so all the peers returned with their coronets, and the Knights Grand Crosses with their velvet hats with panaches of more than twenty white ostrich feathers. When these filled the nave, which they did entirely with their immense waving plumes and crimson and white satin dresses, between the halberdiers in red dresses, so covered with broad gold laces that the original material was scarce visible, and beyond them the yeomen in full costume like those at the Tower, and still outside the chosen guards, then the sight was really a royal one. . . . Mrs. Gurney was delighted with the scene of the banquet in the hall, and especially with the champion, who—as well as his horse—acted admirably.

The aldermen, who preceded the peers in the procession, no sooner saw the rich feast spread for them in the hall, than they sat down, and were not to be stopped from their dinner even by the King's entry. They positively had half eaten their dinner before the King came."

July 21st, 1821.

"All London yesterday seemed as much occupied with the coronation as they were the day before. . . . The fireworks in the evening in all the parks, and the illuminations and the various amusements prepared for the populace, were all on the grandest scale. It was very judicious in Government by these means, by the balloon in Piccadilly, and by the theatres being opened gratis, to divert the mob to various directions. Indeed, a more peaceable and good-natured crowd was never seen than that which filled the parks and main streets on Thursday night. . . . A few soldiers in detached groups patrolled the bright streets, and some were piqueted in different places. We went to the Queen's house in South Audley Street, that we might see ourselves whether there was any excitation in her favour. Her house was not illuminated. Admiral Wood's, directly opposite to hers, was. But there was no crowd, and no feeling for her apparent. Here and there in Curzon Street we heard a few ill-dressed men say 'Queen,' and stand still in the middle of the street, but there was no response to them of any kind. The *Morning Chronicle* even blames her conduct in attempting to enter the Abbey; she could have no reason but to excite disturbance. . . . Her three attempts at different doors, the violent rage which some witnessed in her deportment, and the burst of tears at another time, were all most unfit, most improper and unregal. It was a shame and a disgraceful as well as distressing scene for a queen to exhibit on such a day. Lord Gosford tells papa that the number of peers was greater than had ever been known on such an occasion; 197 were present."

Queen Caroline had expected a great popular demonstration in her favour at the coronation, and the disap-

pointment broke her heart. When she died, a few weeks later, her shortcomings were forgotten, and the same crowds who had cried "Shame" on her when she made her famous attempts to force her way into the Abbey, thronged after her corpse, and seriously impeded the funeral procession as it passed through the London streets *en route* for Brunswick.

The coronation of William IV. and Queen Adelaide, in striking contrast to that of George IV., was a compromise between parsimony (it cost only £42,000) and parade. Not only was there no procession of any kind, but even the time-honoured custom of a royal banquet in Westminster Hall was omitted.

At the coronation of Queen Victoria nothing was left out which could add to the popularity of the youthful Sovereign—the first maiden queen since the days of Queen Elizabeth—or impress the solemnity of this great historical function upon her subjects. The House of Commons joined, for the first time on record, by the utterance of "nine loud and hearty cheers after the homage of the peers."

So many are the printed accounts of this ceremony that a detailed description of it would be out of place here. In a book presented to the Chapter Library, which formerly belonged to Sir George Smart, senior organist of the Chapel Royal, who was director of the music at the coronations of William IV. and Victoria, are a few details about the service not generally noticed. The day, fixed originally for June 26th, the anniversary of George IV.'s death, was changed to the 28th, and on the 26th a grand rehearsal was held in the Abbey. A correspondent to the *Globe* newspaper gives the following description of the interior of the church as it appears on the eve of a coronation, which describes the entire transformation of the building for these state ceremonies :—

"This morning (Tuesday) I was at the rehearsal of the music for the coronation. After passing through the dark purlieus that lead to the interior of the Abbey, the mind is appalled by the burst of splendour that breaks upon the sight. This murky pile glitters on all sides

with crimson and gold, gallery above gallery rising nearly to the roof. The old organ has been cleared away, and in its place an orchestra is erected for 500 performers. Opposite to this is the gallery for the House of Commons, from which rise stupendous columns of gold, supporting a spacious gallery at a terrible height. At the highest point on a platform richly ornamented stand a band of trumpeters, who give a grand flourish on Her Majesty's entry, and play 'God Save the Queen.' In the centre of the four sides formed by the cross one or Poets' Corner, stands an elevation of a pyramidal form, ascended by steps, on which the ceremony will be performed ; here is placed King Edward's chair covered with cloth of gold. At the altar are some silk curtains of purple curiously figured, the use of which I could not understand. The crowd of desks in the orchestra are in the form of angels, on whose golden wings lie the crimson music-books surmounted by a golden organ aspiring to the roof. The whole appears like fairyland. . . What the appearance of the orchestra will be I must defer till Thursday, as all the instrumental performers are to be in scarlet and gold, the male voices in surplices, and the ladies robed in stiff muslin."

The chorus of female voices was a novel feature. Besides the choirs of the Abbey, St. Paul's, and the Chapel Royal, the Windsor choristers assisted, and the number of the orchestra, 187 at the last coronation, was increased to 400. Handel's great anthem "The King (changed on this occasion into the Queen) Shall Rejoice," and "Zadok the Priest," besides one composed specially for the occasion by Knyvett, were sung, and the ceremony concluded with the "Hallelujah" chorus ; the "Overture to the Occasional Oratorio," also Handel's, was played by Sir George Smart on the organ as the Queen left the church. He has noted on his copy of the service the exact moment—ten minutes to twelve—the new Sovereign entered the choir, and the time—twenty minutes to four—of her departure ; the ritual had been somewhat abridged, probably in order to allow time for the extra music. A letter from a French lady, Mme. Mohl,* who

* Translated and published by Mrs. Simpson in a memoir of Mme. Mohl.

was well known in English society, giving her impressions of the coronation, is chosen for transcription here as a less hackneyed and more original account than those usually printed: "I was in Westminster Abbey," she says, "yesterday from five in the morning to half-past four in the afternoon. I saw the Queen, who has a charming countenance, and all the dukes, and peers, and bishops, and archbishops, and all those people with crowns on their heads, and the peeresses all in diamonds and trains held up by pages—in short, I never saw such a number of grand folk, and when I saw Wellington I wept like a calf from tender emotion. The Queen had a train twelve yards long, carried by eight pretty young ladies dressed in white and without trains; they had wreaths of white roses on their heads, and their dresses were trimmed with white roses and green leaves. I never saw anything so pretty. They were followed by eight ladies in waiting, who carried nothing, but who had pale blue trains and plumes of white feathers on their heads. All the peeresses had long red trains—in short, trains played the principal part in the ceremony. The music was splendid, and the whole thing was amusing. That robber Soult was cheered, which made me very indignant; but I was assured the reason was that we wanted to make up to him for having beaten him long ago. The Turks also were much cheered—they all looked hump-backed. As you know, I was obliged to get up at a quarter past three, and to be in the carriage at four so as to reach the Abbey at five, and we did not get home till six. I was nearly dead."

Ireland died on September 2nd, 1842, at the advanced age of eighty, and was buried in the grave in Poets' Corner where his old schoolfellow and friend, William Gifford, first editor of the *Quarterly Review*, had been laid sixteen years before. His name will ever be gratefully remembered in the Abbey annals as the dean who first gave free admission to the nave and transepts; a monument by Turnoult in the nave records his memory.

Of his immediate successors, Thomas Turton (1842-45) and Samuel Wilberforce (1845), afterwards the well-known Bishop of Oxford, there is nothing to chronicle

in connection with their time at the Deanery. Wilberforce became Bishop of Oxford in November, six months after his appointment at Westminster, and was succeeded by one whose scientific eclipsed his theological reputation —Dr. Buckland, Canon of Christ Church, who, as President of the Geological Society, Fellow of the Royal Society, and author of many learned works on geology and mineralogy, was already famous.

Short as was his tenure of office here, for the mental illness which clouded the last part of his life left him only five years' work at Westminster, the new dean rivalled Dr. Vincent in his activity, particularly resembling him in his care for the school, which had then no funds* of its own and was dependent on the dean and chapter. He found it in a shocking sanitary condition, resembling the institutions of the Middle Ages rather than those of the nineteenth century. Up to this time, for instance, the boys' only lavatory had been a long stone trough, with a tap of water, exposed to the weather on one side, where they were supposed to perform their ablutions. The one dormitory also was in so filthy a condition that hoes had to be used to cleanse the floor from the encrusted dirt of ages, and the blankets actually had to be burned. By the dean's care new lavatories were erected, studies made for the boys beneath the dormitory, and the building lighted with gas ; he also provided a sanatorium, and guarded against some of the abuses then notorious in the school by appointing a new college porter.

Buckland did not confine his energies entirely to the school. We are told in his son's memoir that he paid great attention to the state of the monuments, and of the fabric of the Abbey, and "kept a strict eye over the manner in which the services were performed, and upon the regularity, good behaviour, and civility of the vergers." To him the congregation which throngs the Abbey every Sunday owes the present open arrangement of the choir and transepts. Up to Buckland's time it was only possible to accommodate six hundred worshippers, the transepts being divided from the choir by high

* By the Public Schools Act in 1868 the school was severed from its dependence on the chapter and endowed with an annual income of its own.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, FROM THE BRIDGE, 1819

FROM A COLOURED AQUATINT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

QUEEN CAROLINE ATTEMPTING TO ENTER INTO THE ABBEY AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.
(*See p.* 345.)

screens. These were removed in 1848 by order of the dean, who preached an interesting sermon on the day (Easter Sunday, April 23rd, 1848) they were first opened for service. The sermon was published, and contains various references to the history of the Abbey. In it the dean speaks of the consecration of three Australian bishops and of the first Bishop of Capetown, which had taken place the year before, as "the unexampled ceremony of the simultaneous consecration of a chosen band of colonial bishops." This was, however, not the first example of the kind, for in 1842 several colonial bishops had been consecrated. It was not until 1869 that the practice, so common after the Restoration, of consecrating many of our English bishops in the Abbey, was revived in the case of the see of Bangor, and from that time till now scarcely a year passes without at least one English or colonial bishop being consecrated here.

During Dean Buckland's time, his son, Frank, the well-known naturalist, brought many strange visitors to the Deanery: snakes would be casually met upon the stairs, rats were cultivated in the basement. Last, but not least of the live things, a magnificent eagle was kept on a pole in the tiny back garden within the Deanery walls, and great was the excitement when, during the Chartist riots, he escaped and sailed away over London, apparently lost for ever. But, so wonderful is an eagle's power of sight, that, though he is known to have got as far as Clapham, a live chicken tied to his pole allured him back, and he was ignominiously recaptured!

From about 1850 to his death, on August 24th, 1856, Buckland's active work ceased: he was buried in the grave he had himself chosen in Islip Churchyard, close to the rectory where he spent so large a portion of his latter years.

CHAPTER XLII.

TRENCH AND STANLEY.

Richard Chenevix Trench, rector of Itchenstoke, and professor of King's College, London, better known at the time for his literary works than as a leader in the Church, was installed dean in October, 1856. The living of Islip, so long associated with the Deanery, was now finally severed from it, and presented to the new dean's brother. Under Dean Trench's rule what may be called the modern era of the Abbey annals began.

The screens between nave and choir had fallen under Buckland. It remained for Trench to inaugurate the special evening services in the nave, ever since his day so great a feature at the Abbey, and an example followed in most of our cathedrals. Hitherto, the dean complained, there had been no preaching in the Abbey beyond that of the chapter clergy, and an occasional bishop for a society; now he desired that the church should be once more accessible for preachers, as in the days when great sermons were poured forth from its pulpit before the united Houses of Parliament on some stirring national event. On December 3rd, 1859, the nave was thrown open for service, and the first of the special evening preachers was heard there. The service attracted all sorts and conditions of men. Trench describes the second congregation which assembled in the nave as "a number of poor, meanly dressed people" with "a diminished number of gentlefolks" since the first Sunday; and now, if the names of the usual Sunday evening* worshippers could be ascertained, the bulk would, no doubt, consist of tradespeople, clerks, and working men.

* Sunday Evening services are now held all the year round in the choir, except during May, June, and July, when the nave is used.

Trench was deeply impressed with the historical importance of the Abbey. "It lies," he once remarked, "at the kernel of English history"; and when, in the winter of 1863, he accepted the Archbishopric of Dublin, the successor chosen to carry on his work was the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford—Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who was destined to enlarge in every way the usefulness of the Abbey and increase the interest felt in it by the English race throughout the world.

Dr. Stanley was installed dean in January, 1864, and his first sermon, preached on the Sunday (January 10th) after his installation, was the forerunner of a long series of eloquent discourses delivered from the Abbey pulpit, and closing only nine days (July 9th, 1881) before his death. Stanley's influence and the beneficial changes and reforms he carried out, will long be felt at the Abbey, where for seventeen years he identified himself with all the sacred and historical associations connected with his office. His aim was to make the Abbey a centre of national life, where no jarring sound of faction should be heard, and where all the great and good dead, whether within or without the pale of the Church, might be honoured either in stone or in spoken word, an aim set ever as "a cresset light burning" before him, and to some extent realised. He personally was drawn for a time into the thick of theological controversy, and his fiery speeches at Convocation were stirring episodes in the history of that usually placable assembly. Churchmen of every party—High, Broad, or Low—were asked to occupy the Abbey pulpit, till the Abbey church was universally recognised as a place where no extremes of ritual were found, and where all churchmen could meet on equal terms.

Not content with the special Sunday evening services, Dean Stanley instituted an annual mission lecture to be delivered in the nave by a layman or Nonconformist minister on St. Andrew's Day—a date set apart by Archbishop Trench as a day of intercession for foreign missions. The first lecture was given in 1872, the last in 1879, after which year the project was abandoned.

Professor Max Müller, Principal Caird, and Dr. Moffat, father-in-law of Livingstone, were three of the lecturers appointed.

Amongst other innovations introduced by the dean was a religious service combined with an orchestral and choral musical performance of Bach's *Passion* music, held in the nave on April 6th, 1871. This, the first of a series of festival services, roused some adverse comments at the time ; but the example thus set by an unmusical dean was afterwards taken up by other churches. The children's service on Innocents' Day, also inaugurated by Stanley in 1871, was continued by his successor, Dean Bradley, and every year a throng of little ones used to be brought through winter fog or frost to hear the dean's annual sermon to children.

Besides thus providing for the spiritual usefulness of the Abbey as a church, Stanley flung himself heart and soul into the historical associations of the building. He did not rest until he had visited the royal vaults and discovered the resting-place of our first Stuart king, James I.; to him we owe the modern inscriptions which identify the graves of the Stuart and Hanoverian royal families, that of Lord Essex, the Parliamentary general, and of Cromwell's favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole. Under his auspices the neglected remains of the fifth Henry's queen were placed in a fitting resting-place, above her husband's tomb. The picture of Richard II. was carefully restored to its original state by George Richmond, R.A., and the documents in the muniment room began to be catalogued.

Between 1867 and 1873 a new reredos, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, was erected. The statues upon it were chosen by the dean, who caused Moses, the law-giver, to be placed at the north side looking to the " Statesmen's Aisle," and David, the psalmist, on the south, turned to Poets' Corner. In repairing the tessellated pavement at this period, the bases of two of the original columns of the Confessor's Abbey were discovered some feet below the present level of the church.

During Stanley's time there were twenty burials here, including four of the Percy family, to whom a vault in St.

Nicholas's Chapel belongs by prescriptive right. Peabody, the American philanthropist, lay in the nave for a few months, by Dean Stanley's own suggestion, before his body was removed to his native place—Salem, Massachusetts. Lord Palmerston, in whose grave his widow's body was afterwards laid, was interred in the Abbey by the request of the Government of 1865. Stanley was abroad when Sir George Pollock was buried, and Dickens's was the first grave for which he claimed full responsibility. The dean, in fact, set the precedent since followed by his successors: he did not *offer* sepulture in the Abbey, but awaited a sufficiently strong memorial signed by names of weight before consenting to any interment there. To this, as to every rule, there have been exceptions, as in the case of Lord Lytton, and when Dean Bradley offered graves in Poets' Corner as a national tribute to the two greatest poets of this generation—Tennyson and Browning.

Besides the twenty interments, twenty-three monuments and brasses belong to Dean Stanley's time, some commemorating those already buried here, such as the statues of Lord Palmerston and the bust of Macaulay, or of distinguished men interred elsewhere, such as the busts of Thackeray and Kingsley, Keble, and F. D. Maurice. The statues of Lords Palmerston and Beaconsfield were erected by Parliament.

The one occasion when Stanley's judgment was overruled was in the case of the proposed statue of the late Prince Imperial, who fell in the Zulu war of 1879. The dean consented to a request from the "Napoleon Memorial Committee" that a fitting monument to the young representative of the Bonapartes might be placed in the Abbey; but the proposal, not unnaturally, roused a storm of opposition, and finally was reluctantly relinquished in consequence of an adverse vote in the House of Commons representing public opinion on the subject.

On the next page is a complete list of the principal persons buried or commemorated within the Abbey from 1864 to 1881; six officials connected with the Abbey were interred in the cloisters during this period.

Death.	Interments and Monuments.	Place of Grave.
1865	Algernon, Duke of Northumberland	St. Nicholas's Chapel.
1865	Lord Palmerston (statue, 1866)...	North Transept.
1866	Duchess Dowager of Northumberland	St. Nicholas's Chapel.
1867	George, fifth Duke of Northumberland	Ditto.
1869	George Peabody (body removed)	Nave.
1869	Lady Palmerston	North Transept.
1870	Charles Dickens	Poets' Corner.
1871	Sir John Herschel	North Aisle, Nave.
1871	George Grote (bust, 1872) ...	South Transept.
1872	Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock	Nave.
1873	Lord Lytton	St. Edmund's Chapel.
1874	Dr. Livingstone	Nave.
1875	Sir W. Sterndale Bennett ...	North Aisle, Choir.
1875	Sir Charles Lyell (bust, 1877) ...	North Aisle, Nave.
1875	Bishop Thirlwall (bust, 1877) ...	South Transept.
1876	Lady Augusta Stanley	Henry VII.'s Chapel.
1877	Lord Henry Percy	St. Nicholas's Chapel.
1878	Sir Gilbert Scott (brass, 1878) ...	Nave.
1879	Lord Lawrence (bust, 1881) ...	Ditto.
1870	Sir Rowland Hill (bust, 1881) ...	St. Paul's Chapel.

Death.	Monuments.	Place of Monument.
1860	*Sir Charles Barry (brass, 1864) ...	Nave.
1863	Sir G. Cornewell Lewis (bust, 1864)	West Aisle, North Transept.
1863	W. M. Thackeray (bust, 1865) ...	South Transept.
1859	*Lord Macaulay (bust, 1865) ...	South Transept.
1863	*Sir James Outram (bust, 1866) ...	Nave, South side.
1865	Richard Cobden (bust, 1866) ...	West Aisle, North Transept.
1868	Sir Herbert Edwardes (bust, 1871)	Ditto.
1872	Rev. F. D. Maurice (bust, 1872)	South-West Tower.
1866	Rev. John Keble (bust, 1873) ...	Ditto.
1863	Marquis of Lansdowne (bust, 1873)	North-West Tower.
1860	Earl of Aberdeen (bust, 1874) ...	West Aisle, North Transept.
1847	Sir John Franklin (bust and monument, 1875)	St. Andrew's Chapel.
1870	Sir James Simpson (bust, 1875)...	St. John's Chapel.
1875	Charles Kingsley (bust, 1875) ...	Baptistery.
1791	John Wesley } (medallion tablet,	
1788	Charles Wesley } 1876)	South Aisle, Choir.
1878	Earl Russell (bust, 1880)	North-West Tower.

Asterisks are affixed to the names of those previously interred here.

For the situation of these graves and monuments Stanley had always some historical or other reason. Thus Lord Lytton was buried next a warrior who had fallen in the battle of Barnet, in allusion to his novel, "The Last of the Barons"; Lord Lawrence near the other Indian men of mark, Outram and Clyde; Lyell at the foot of Woodward, "the first pioneer of English geology"; and Thirlwall in the vault of his old schoolfellow and fellow-historian of Greece, George Grote.

Various alterations also were made in the existing monuments under Dean Stanley, with the consent of the families if any survived. The Villiers and Lennox tombs were restored; John Kemble's statue was moved from the nave to St. Michael's Chapel in order to be near that of his sister, Mrs. Siddons. The fine recumbent figure of Sir William Thynne, an Elizabethan statesman whose "latter days were spent in retirement and devotion in this church, whither he constantly repaired both morning and evening," had long been obscured by a settee, and by the overhanging tablet of Dr. Andrew Bell. By the care of his descendant, Lord John Thynne, the sub-dean, the beautiful altar tomb was opened out in 1875.

Besides improvements in the existing monuments, great reductions were made in the burial and other fees. The earliest record of the fees is in Dean Atterbury's private note-book, the first official one is dated 1717. The various amounts paid for breaking ground varied from £10 for a gentleman in the body of the church, to £20 in the chapels, £35 for a marquis, and £40 for a duke or archbishop. There were also extra charges: those above the rank of a knight had to pay for the use of the Jerusalem Chamber, and the fees gradually increased till they amounted in some instances to £150 in all, and included often ninety pairs of gloves at 3s. 6d. each (as at Pitt's funeral). The fees were revised in 1829 under Ireland, and finally reduced in 1866 and 1870 by Stanley: all extra charges were abolished, and, with the exception of stated sums, for the clerk of the works and the choir, all the money received goes to the fabric fund.

Dean Stanley was keenly alive to the ever-increasing

interest shown by the public in the Abbey from a sightseer's point of view, and he did all in his power to encourage this interest. The fees for showing the chapels, which are used for the ornamentation fund, are so important an item in the chapter income that it was found impossible to abolish them. Dean Stanley provided during his life (from Easter Monday, 1870) for one, and after his death he contributed by a bequest towards two free days—Monday and Tuesdays—every week, when visitors can wander unchecked among the royal tombs.

Once again, under Stanley's guidance, distinguished strangers, royalties, or other honoured guests from across the seas and nearer home, visited the Abbey as in the old days, when a German prince or a Danish sovereign came to see the monuments. The dean was never happier than when showing people of all classes round the church, a custom which he passed on to his successor, Dean Bradley, who continued the Saturday parties of working men and women, which Stanley had inaugurated.

Domestic and other sorrows combined to cloud Stanley's last years. His wife, Lady Augusta, died on March 2nd, 1876, and was buried, by desire of Queen Victoria, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the Queen and three of the princesses watching her funeral pass up the nave from the abbot's pew. This was one of the few occasions when Queen Victoria attended a service in the Abbey. Then the death (February, 1881) of Stanley's invaluable sub-dean, Lord John Thynne, who had acted for fifty years as prime minister to a long succession of deans, was followed by a consequence provided for thirteen years before, but apparently not realised at the time by the dean—the obligatory cession of the sub-dean's residence, Ashburnham House, to the school, in consideration of a fixed sum of money. Two houses besides this had also to go to the school, and, with the money granted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the purpose, two new houses were built in the "College" garden. These clauses, tacked on to the Public Schools Act, and passed at the end of a session in 1868, were overlooked by Stanley at the time, and when he was obliged to cede the historic mansion, with its beautiful wood-carving and staircase by

Inigo Jones, he was cut to the heart. But it was too late to rectify the arrangement: the school could not be expected to resign the additional accommodation without which it was impossible to keep pace with the requirements of modern times, and Ashburnham House passed, after a long discussion, into the hands of the governing body.

In the very midst of the controversy the dean was seized with mortal illness. On Saturday, July 9th, he preached, with difficulty, the third in a series of discourses on the Beatitudes, and left the Abbey pulpit, whence for seventeen years his eloquent voice had never ceased to enthral and instruct his hearers, for his deathbed. He died on July 18th, 1881, and on July 23rd, the day of his funeral, the Abbey was literally thronged from end to end with mourners of all classes, from the highest in the land, represented by the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family, to the working men, who had so often followed the small, spare figure in life, through the tombs to that royal chapel, where all that was mortal of their teacher was laid beside his wife.

Here, in a little chapel south of Henry VII.'s monument, a tomb designed by Pearson, the Abbey architect, with a recumbent figure by Boehm, was placed by his relatives and friends above the vault, beneath the stained-glass window which the dean had himself erected to his wife.

A larger memorial, one after Dean Stanley's own heart, was also planned, and the greater part has since been completed by enthusiastic friends and admirers on both sides of the Atlantic. When Dr. Stanley came to Westminster, he found the ancient Chapter-house choked up and its architectural beauties hidden by wooden cases and cupboards, where some of the national records, now at the Rolls Office, were stowed away. The dean brought the condition of the building before the Government, and so enlisted the sympathy of the nation that a grant was obtained from Parliament, the old parchments removed, and the Chapter-house restored, under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott, as far as possible to its original aspect. There was not, however, sufficient money over to defray the cost of stained-glass windows, and this object was

taken up as the most appropriate memorial of his work at the Abbey. So large are these windows that it has been as yet impossible to fill them all; but one light was added in 1893 to the last unfilled window, and it is hoped that the series will eventually be completed. The glass, executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, represents a series of historical scenes connected with the Abbey, the general idea for which had been already planned by the late dean himself. In the last, the well-known story of the remission of the Dane-gelt by Edward the Confessor is given.

One window was presented by Queen Victoria, another by American friends, the rest by the contributions of British subscribers. A small window in the vestibule was filled with glass in 1893 in memory of the American Minister and poet, J. R. Lowell, himself one of the original promoters of the Stanley memorial.

CHAPTER XLIII.

DEAN BRADLEY.

STANLEY'S friend and successor, George Granville Bradley, D.D., Master of University College, Oxford, and Canon of Worcester, was installed on All Saints' Day—November 1st, 1881.

Dean Bradley, with the cordial co-operation of the Abbey clergy and staff, devoted himself from the first to the financial condition of the chapter, the reverent conduct of the services, and various details of internal government. An old head-master himself, he also took an active part on the governing body of Westminster School, of which he was *ex officio* chairman, and supported the authorities during a long and difficult time in the school history.

Some explanation of the causes which led to the financial difficulties of the dean and chapter is necessary to a clear understanding of the task that lay before the new dean.

In 1840-43 the number of canons was reduced from twelve to six by Act of Parliament, and to two of these a parochial charge was affixed—St. Margaret's parish to one, St. John's to the other; the future stipends of the dean and each canon were fixed at £2,000 and £1,000 respectively. Nearly thirty years later a new arrangement was made with the Ecclesiastical Commission by which the collegiate body was destined to suffer severe losses. A commutation or settlement was arrived at and legalised by Act of Parliament (1868, Order-in-Council, August 7th, 1869), according to which *all* the landed and other property of the dean and chapter was handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who, in return, gave back a certain portion of land and houses calculated

to produce about £9,900 a year, and an annual sum of money amounting to about the same, besides a grant of £20,000 for immediate repairs. No provision was made, however, for the fluctuations in value to which all landed and house property is liable, and the rental produced in 1868 was looked upon as a fixed and lasting income. Before many years, however, had passed, the fallacy of this opinion was fatally apparent, and by 1881 the annual sum at the disposal of the dean and chapter was not sufficient even to defray the cost of necessary repairs, and the condition of the fabric was such as to cause the gravest anxiety.

The causes of this loss of money were not far to seek, considering the general depreciation of landed property throughout the country, and the fact that this income depended for the most part on the rental from country estates. Out of the very limited revenue this left to the chapter, £3,444 a year had been spent on the fabric since 1869, but so inadequate was this sum to the needs of the building that in 1882 the architect's report speaks of the outside of the church as being in an absolutely dangerous condition. Such briefly was the state of affairs which Bradley, with the assistance of the chapter, lost no time in remedying.

The first communication on the condition of the fabric was addressed by the dean to the Ecclesiastical Commission early in 1883, and detailed reports concerning the chapter finances and the needs and expenses of the fabric were sent in to the First Lord of the Treasury and to the Commissioners, between 1883 and 1888. Finally, the old arrangement of 1868-69 was entirely superseded by a new Act, which passed through both Houses of Parliament in April and May, 1888. In accordance with this Act, the Ecclesiastical Commission now took over all the houses and land hitherto belonging to the chapter, with the exception of the official tenements. In return, the Commission granted an annual revenue amounting to £20,000* to the dean and chapter, £3,250 of which, and any sums derived from the leases of official

* This was the nominal income granted in 1868-69; but, as we have explained, the actual sum fell far short of this, and diminished yearly.

houses or other surplus, was to be devoted to the fabric fund, a fund thenceforth to be considered as the first charge on the annual income.

So pressing were the immediate needs of the fabric, that a large sum of ready money was necessary, without which the repairs, then and now going on, must have been stopped. An Act empowering the Ecclesiastical Commission to make an immediate grant of £10,000 was passed in 1886, and by the Westminster Abbey Act (mentioned above), two years later, power was given to suspend one of the six canonries, and to devote the income to paying the interest and principal of large sums advanced, or to be advanced, by the Commissioners for the repair of the fabric.

With the funds thus provided, it was found possible to complete the restoration, or, more correctly speaking, the *re-building* of the north front—a work commenced by Sir Gilbert Scott,* after whose designs the triple portico was finished in 1885. The upper part was undertaken by the late John Pearson, under whose supervision the eighteenth-century front of Wren's time was transformed back to the Early English style; and in 1890 the whole exterior end of the north transept was completed, and the scaffolding, which had concealed it for so many years, was at last removed.

Scarcely were the financial difficulties settled, than the question of the growing want of space in the Abbey for future burials and monuments, originally brought before the Liberal Government by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, First Commissioner of Works from 1880 to 1884, was again taken into serious consideration. A Royal Commission was appointed which sat during the June and July of 1890. Six commissioners were nominated, one of whom was Sir Frederic Leighton, President of the Royal Academy, the Right Hon. David Plunket took the chair, Lord Dillon was secretary, and the dean appeared both as a member of the commission and as a witness. Eight meetings were held, and four-

* Sir Gilbert Scott died in 1878, about two years after the building was begun, but though somewhat altered and modified, his designs were in the main adhered to.

teen witnesses examined, by whom much interesting evidence was given. Various schemes for the enlargement of the Abbey, the earliest dating from the time of Sir Gilbert Scott, were laid before the commission, but there were practical difficulties in the way, and, owing to the impossibility of arriving at a definite and unanimous opinion, the Commissioners finally separated without a decisive result. But the way was paved for a future re-opening of the question, when the claims of those worthy to be enshrined in the Abbey have become so pressing that the necessity of a new adjunct to the old church may be essential, and when the public is convinced that their national shrine is no longer available for either the burial or any memorial of the great dead.

This contingency is indeed imminent. Even in the eighteenth century a French writer says that "the people are not more crowded in the streets of London than are the funeral monuments in the Abbey"; and now, over a hundred years later, the spaces available for the memorials of our leading men have almost ceased to exist. An important step to clearing a site for a new adjunct to the Abbey was taken by the demolition of the houses which blocked in and concealed the Chapter-house and Poets' Corner from the outside. This improvement to the exterior view of the Abbey was undertaken by the Government, who came to an agreement with the Ecclesiastical Commission on the question of the leases of these houses, hitherto the barrier to their demolition.

The custom of holding memorial services in honour of some distinguished person who is buried elsewhere was practically initiated by Dean Bradley, and has become, with the growing want of space for interments, more and more usual. In many cases the coffin is brought here, and the first part of the burial service is held, in others there can only be a service of a funeral character as a tribute to the dead. During Dean Bradley's tenure of office here, two German emperors, two English princes (Prince Leopold and Prince Edward, Duke of Clarence), a national hero (General Gordon), the President of the United States, and many other men of mark were thus commemorated.

There were nine interments in the church itself, and four members of the chapter were buried in the cloisters in Bradley's time. The burials in the Abbey were all those of men whose names are worthy of being added to the roll-call of English worthies.

The following is the list of interments in the Abbey and cloisters under Dean Bradley :—

Death.	Interments and Monuments.	Place of Grave.
1881	A. P. Stanley, dean (recumbent figure, 1882)	Henry VII.'s Chapel.
1881	G. E. Street (brass)	Nave.
1882	Charles Darwin (medallion), in the Choir, North Aisle ...	Ditto.
1883	William Spottiswoode	South Transept.
1883	Lady Louisa Percy	St. Nicholas's Chapel.
1886	Archbishop Trench (brass) ...	Nave.
1889	Robert Browning	Poets' Corner.
1890	Louisa Percy, Duchess of Northumberland	St. Nicholas's Chapel.
1892	Alfred, Lord Tennyson (grave and bust)	Poets' Corner.
1892	Samuel Flood Jones, Precentor ...	Cloisters.
1897	John Loughborough Pearson ...	Nave.
1898	William Ewart Gladstone (grave and statue)	North Transept.
1899	George Percy, Duke of Northumberland	St. Nicholas's Chapel.
1899	John Troutbeck, Precentor ...	Cloisters.
1900	Charles St. Clare Bedford, late Chapter Clerk	Cloisters.
1900	Catherine Gladstone	North Transept.
1900	Charles Wellington Furse, Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster	Cloisters.

For the three first of these interments, strong memorials, signed by a number of names of weight, were sent in to the dean, who then granted the petitions therein contained. Street had lately completed his plans for the new Law Courts ; the actual building was not finished till after his death : his grave was chosen near those of two other modern architects—his old master, Sir Gilbert Scott, and the designer of the present Houses of Parliament, Sir Charles Barry, Scott's pupil and his successor as Surveyor of the Abbey Fabric (a post which he held till his death). John L. Pearson,

R.A., who succeeded Barry as Surveyor, was buried close to the nave pulpit on December 16th, 1897. Darwin, the great biologist, rests by Sir Isaac Newton, and Spottiswoode, President of the Royal Society, lies close to an ancestor, Archbishop Spottiswoode, the historian, who crowned Charles I. at Edinburgh.

The remains of our great poets, Robert Browning and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, lie side by side in front of Chaucer's monument. The dean arrived from abroad on the day of Lord Tennyson's death, and lost no time in telegraphing the offer of a grave in Poets' Corner to his son. The interest of Tennyson's funeral, which took place on October 12th, 1892, vied with those of the ancient Laureates : the coffin rested all night in St. Faith's Chapel, while the workmen hewed the hard concrete in Poets' Corner, till the requisite depth, six feet, was attained. Distinguished pall-bearers—amongst whom Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Dr. Jowett, the Master of Balliol, Mr. Lecky, the historian, and the Presidents of the Royal Academy and Royal Society were prominent—stood beside the grave, which was surrounded by the wreaths, which had been sent by the Laureate's numberless friends and admirers. For days afterwards throngs of people haunted the Abbey, all passing by the new-made grave, which was shut off by barriers, in a long and unceasing procession.

On May 28th, 1898, Whit Saturday, took place the State funeral of William Ewart Gladstone (died May 19th), whose body was appropriately laid to rest in the "Statesmen's Aisle." In accordance with the family wishes, there was no brilliant pageant as at the last state funeral in the Abbey—that of Lord Palmerston—but princes were amongst the pall-bearers, the Prince of Wales and his heir, Prince George, the Duke of York, paying to the dead statesman this last tribute of respect. The other pall-bearers were Mr. Gladstone's intimate personal friends, Lord Rendel and Mr. Armitstead ; his political associates, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, and the Earl of Kimberley ; the leaders of the two Houses of Parliament, his political opponents, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour ; and, finally, the Duke of Rutland. The Abbey was draped

QUEEN VICTORIA GREETING THE ROYAL FAMILY AT THE JUBILEE SERVICE.
(*See p.* 374.)

THE CORONATION OF EDWARD VII.
(*See p.* 376.)

in black, and was thronged to the very roof. Outside, a dense crowd had watched the funeral procession make its slow way from Westminster Hall, where the coffin had been lying in state for two days, to the West door. The simple impressiveness of the scene within and without the Abbey walls will long live in the memories of all who were present.

Below will be found the names of those persons not interred here but commemorated in the Abbey by a bust or other memorial during the period 1882 to 1903 :—

Death.	Monuments.	Place.
1870	Michael William Balfe, musical composer (medallion, 1882)...	North Aisle, Choir.
1881	Lord Beaconsfield (statue, 1884)...	North Transept.
1882	Longfellow, the American poet (bust, 1884)	Poets' Corner.
1880	Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, statesman (statue, 1884) ...	North Transept.
1882	Archbishop Tait (bust, 1884) ...	South Transept.
1796	Robert Burns, Scotch poet (bust, 1885)	Poets' Corner.
1880	Lord John Thynne, sub-dean (monument, 1885)	North Aisle, Choir.
1834	S. T. Coleridge, poet (bust, 1885)	Poets' Corner.
1884	Professor Fawcett, the blind statesman (medallion, 1886)...	South-West Tower.
1886	W. E. Forster, statesman (medallion, 1888)	North Aisle, Choir.
1885	Lord Shaftesbury, philanthropist (statue, 1888)	Nave.
1888	Sir Henry Maine, Indian statesman (medallion, 1889) ...	West Aisle, North Transept.
1888	Matthew Arnold, poet and essayist (bust, 1891)	South-West Tower.
1889	James Prescott Joule, scientist (medallion, 1892)	North Aisle, Choir.
1885	General Gordon (bust, 1893) ...	North-West Tower.
1887	Jenny Lind, singer (medallion, 1894)	South Transept.
1892	Professor Adams, astronomer (medallion, 1895)	North Aisle, Choir.
1842	Dr. Arnold, head-master of Rugby and historian (bust, 1895) ...	South-West Tower.
1832	Sir Walter Scott, novelist (bust)...	South Transept.
1882	Joseph Chester	South Choir Aisle.
1900	John Ruskin	South Transept.
1900	Seven Volunteers	Cloisters.
1903	Sir George Stokes	North Choir Aisle.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE JUBILEE SERVICE.

The greatest event in the annals of the Abbey during the reign of Queen Victoria was the splendid Thanksgiving Service, held on the 21st of June, 1887, which marked the fiftieth year of her accession. The Jubilee Service cannot be compared with any other royal pageant, for it was unique in English history, and probably never before had representatives of so many nations and tongues from East, West, South, and North assembled within an English church. As at coronations, the building was temporarily taken out of the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, and surrendered to the Lord Chamberlain. From May 3rd to July 30th the church was closed to the public, and the Abbey services were held at St. Margaret's.

During these three months the interior of the Abbey resembled a huge workshop, and, under the superintendence of the First Commissioner of Works, the church was entirely transformed by the erection of wooden galleries and scaffolds.

A vote was taken from Parliament for the expenses, and a special Act of Parliament was also necessary in order to permit the presence of the Duke of Connaught, then in command of the forces at Bombay.

So much harm had been done to the monuments by similar preparations that this time, as afterwards at the Coronation of Edward VII., the dean laid great stress on the necessity of the closest superintendence of the workmen. The damage done on other occasions made this precaution necessary, and so strictly was it observed that absolutely no injury was reported after the removal of the scaffolds after the ceremony.

To the Lord Chamberlain the onerous task of dis-

tributing the tickets was assigned, and care was taken that as far as possible every subject of the British Empire should be in some way represented. Every corporate body, every class, every interest, scientific, literary, artistic, legal, and theatrical, were allotted a certain number of tickets for distribution, and few or no complaints were afterwards heard of the Lord Chamberlain's method of thus ensuring a representative congregation.

Tickets were given to the dean for distribution to the Houses of Convocation and similar Church bodies, distinguished clergy, or those of literary, university, or other special claims which were not classified in any of the Lord Chamberlain's lists; and these, with the members of the chapter and their families, were seated in the galleries above the high altar.

The other portions of the Abbey were allotted as follows:

Foreign royalties or their representatives on each side of the misnamed "sacrarium," *i.e.* the sanctuary, before the altar. The royal stage, with St. Edward's chair in front, facing the altar, was placed beneath the lantern. In the choir behind it were the Indian princes and their suites, the royal children, and the gentlemen and ladies in waiting. The north transept with its galleries was assigned to the House of Commons, *i.e.* six hundred members, including their wives, as also to the clergy of the Church of Scotland, and to various Nonconformist bodies. The House of Lords, the peeresses, the Lord-Lieutenants, the diplomatic body, and the Queen's personal household were in the south transept. In the nave were the High Sheriffs, the Lord Mayor of London and the City Companies, the provincial Mayors and Provosts, the Burgesses of Westminster, the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, the Metropolitan Board of Works, representatives of the army, navy, reserve forces, civil service, etc. To the general public, the colonies, trades, working men, various learned and other societies, galleries over the west door in the south transept were given, as well as the whole triforium. The choir, which consisted of three hundred voices, was placed in two galleries near the organ, and in the organ-loft

was the orchestra, notably the trumpeters, who were to sound a fanfare on the Queen's arrival.

Those who were privileged to be in the Abbey that morning scarcely recognised the venerable church in its gay new dress, even though they had watched the preparations step by step. By twelve o'clock the building was packed from end to end with its ten thousand spectators, and can only be likened to a tropical forest.

From the gallery above the altar the view, which was perhaps the best in the Abbey, almost baffles description. Immediately below were conspicuous the foreign kings, queens, princes, and princesses, grand-dukes, and grand-duchesses, and the envoys. Queen Kapiolani, of Hawaii, and her sister, the Princess Liliuokalani, were the first to arrive. After them in quick succession followed the Oriental princes, who represented the Shah of Persia, the Emperor of Japan, and the King of Siam. Then the European sovereigns and princes. More imposing than any were the great Indian princes, the majestic Holkar at their head, who, draped in rich Eastern silks, crowned with bejewelled turbans, would have been lost to sight in the recesses of the choir stalls had not the glittering of the huge and often priceless precious stones with which they were covered, shining out of the gloom like glowworms in the twilight, betrayed their whereabouts. For, as the sun moved towards the west, it was shut out of the Abbey by the galleries across the great south and west windows, and after midday there was scarcely any trace inside the church of the bright sunshine outside.

About 12.30 a perceptible stir and rustle within, a roaring sound of cheers in the distance without, heralded the arrival of the Sovereign. The silver trumpets sounded a welcome, and the organ pealed forth a march of Handel's, as the head of the royal procession was seen entering the west door. All down the nave was ranged a row of "Beefeaters," whose quaint Tudor costume carried the mind back to the days of the last great Queen of England, Elizabeth. First walked the clergy, the dean and canons, the Archbishops of Canterbury (Benson) and York (Thompson), wearing

the heavy embroidered copes of Charles II.'s time. The canons wore red velvet with a brocaded pattern, the dean a gold embroidered silk cope. It was noticeable that the dean, as representative of the ancient abbots, yielded his rightful place at the rear of the clergy present only to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London (Temple) in his peer's robe walking in front with his Grace of York.

After the clergy came a glittering group of officials, headed by the heralds, then the royal princes, all in different uniforms. Among these the tall and striking figure of the German Crown Prince, dressed in his beautiful white uniform, roused special interest. Who could surmise that even then the doom of that stalwart, manly soldier was approaching with rapid strides? The following spring was to hail him Emperor of Germany, then a year all but three days (June 18th, 1888), after the Jubilee the Dead March pealed through the Abbey, while crowds thronged to the funeral service held here in the hero's honour. Present also, but less noticeable in the crowd of other princes, was that son, young William, destined to succeed grandfather and father in the space of one short year. Could the Fates have divulged their awful secrets, the hand of doom would also have pointed to the young Prince, upon whom, after his popular father, the Prince of Wales, the nation looked as the heir-apparent. But on this auspicious occasion no visible cloud dimmed the bright horizon. Those already missing from the family circle were represented by husband, wife, and children, and a sympathetic and special welcome was given to the Duke of Hesse and his family, as to the widowed Duchess of Albany, whose little son and daughter were present.

A sudden hush fell upon the expectant congregation after the passing of the princes, then again the silver trumpets struck up, the organ sounded the National Anthem, and all that vast assembly rose as one man to its feet when the Sovereign herself, so dignified a personality that, though robed simply in black, none could mistake her identity, walked slowly, with bent head, as if absorbed by all the stirring memories connected with the ceremony,

up the nave and choir to the daïs. The Queen that day, as afterwards at the wedding of her grandson, the Duke of York, marked the happy event by wearing a white bonnet in which priceless diamonds glittered, and against her black dress shone the brilliant Star of India and the Order of the Garter. The Garter King-at-Arms walked backwards before her, and the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward formed her only other escort. Behind came all the princesses. The ladies took their places upon the daïs, grouped to the left behind and beside the royal chair, the princes to the right.

The simple service of praise and thanksgiving included a Te Deum composed by the Prince Consort, and arranged for the large choir and the organ, which was supported by brass instruments and drums, by the Abbey organist, Dr. Bridge, who himself composed an anthem for the occasion, into which strains of the National Anthem were skilfully introduced. The dean read the lesson, those twelve familiar verses from the first Epistle of St. Peter, in which we are told to "Fear God. Honour the King." The Archbishop of Canterbury read the prayers, which he had himself composed, and spoke the final blessing. There was a scarcely perceptible pause after the kneeling congregation rose to their feet; then took place a family scene which appealed to all around. The Queen, rising, received the homage of the Prince of Wales, kissing him on the cheek; her two German sons-in-law came next, and kissed her hand, then, as others followed, the Queen embraced her whole united family, one by one in order, calling back the first two sons-in-law who had not received her kiss. Afterwards, turning to the foreign princes before the altar, the Sovereign made a dignified and deep obeisance. All was now over, the organ played Mendelssohn's "March of the Priests," from *Athalie*, and to its stately measure the royal procession slowly returned to the west door, and then the sound of cheers announced its passage through the waiting multitude outside.

The Jubilee Service was repeated the next day, before the arrangements inside the Abbey were touched, and another huge congregation of 10,000 persons assembled to hear the music and see the interior of the church,

although there were no royalties to attract them. Special pains were taken to admit large bodies of working men and women, for whom, owing to the numerous official claims, there had not been sufficient space the day before. The proceeds of this second Thanksgiving Service, in the shape of donations and money collected in the church, were devoted to a national charity—the Mansion House Hospital Fund.

With the Diamond Jubilee, the celebration of the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign, the Abbey had no official connection. This time it was the turn of St. Paul's to welcome the Sovereign, and the day was only marked here by a festival service in order to commemorate the happy anniversary. The twentieth century was to bring sorrow to the nation, which had only so recently expressed its joy in the Queen's prosperous length of days both as their sovereign and as the chief lady in the land. The black clouds which ushered in the South African war weighed heavily upon queen and people alike, and even as the sky seemed growing lighter on the horizon of the war, here in England all was dark. For in January, 1901, the beloved Queen Victoria passed away, full of years and honours. The official funeral was held at Windsor, but even as the procession, which accompanied the gun carriage upon which lay the Queen-Empress's coffin, was passing through the London streets, a special mourning service was held in the Abbey (February 2nd, 1901). Times were changed since the old days, when bishops and deans vied with each other in preaching lengthy discourses on the death of the sovereign. Dean Bradley preached no sermon, but the service was of a devotional character attuned to the feelings of the many subjects of the late Queen, who, dressed in deep mourning, thronged the ancient church. Funeral marches by the great composers preceded the burial service. The dean read the familiar service, and for the principal anthem the one which Handel had composed for the funeral of Queen Caroline, was selected.

With Queen Victoria's death the nineteenth century closed; the second year of the twentieth century was marked by the Coronation of our present King and

Queen-Consort, Edward VII. and Alexandra. Again the Abbey was given over to the Crown, represented by the Lord Chamberlain, and once more, as in the Jubilee year, the church was closed for several months. All was prepared for the ceremony when suddenly there came a bolt from the blue. A rehearsal of the music was in progress two days before the date fixed, June 26th, for the coronation, when a messenger came from Buckingham Palace to announce that the King must undergo an immediate operation, which would probably endanger his life. In a moment the music ceased, and the preparations were suspended, but before those present left the church Dean Bradley presided at an impromptu service of intercession, and prayers were offered for the King's recovery, as was most fitting in the church which is so closely connected with our sovereigns. Happily it was not long before mourning and suspense were turned to joyful thanksgiving, and the deferred crowning of our King and Queen took place on August 9, 1902. One memorial there is now in the Abbey which will ever be a reminder of this, the only occasion on record of the postponement through illness of an English sovereign's coronation. I refer to the beautiful gold cross, which now stands on the altar in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and was given as a votive offering by the Abyssinian Envoy, the late Ras Makonnen, with his prayers for the King's recovery.

The ceremony of the coronation is too recent, the memory of it still so vivid in the memory of this generation that no description of it will be attempted in these pages. Enough to say that the Archbishop of Canterbury crowned and anointed King Edward, while the Archbishop of York crowned Queen Alexandra. This was looked upon as an innovation by the antiquaries, for it was many centuries since the northern primate had taken part in the crowning of a queen-consort. Dean Bradley, by reason of his great age, was unable to perform all the official duties of the dean. He was therefore assisted by Canon Duckworth, the sub-dean, in the more onerous parts of the ceremony, but was able to take his part in supporting the crown on a cushion and in the administration of the Sacrament to the newly crowned and

anointed sovereigns. Before the scaffoldings were cleared away, the hangings taken down, and the church restored to its usual aspect a farewell service to the Colonial troops then in England was held in the Abbey on Sunday, August 17th, when Bishop Welldon, Canon of Westminster, preached a stirring discourse, and bade them welcome to the national sanctuary of their forefathers. This was a unique occasion, worthy to be chronicled in the annals of the Abbey, for never before had a service of this character been held "amidst the trappings and adornments of the Coronation." For several days afterwards the public were admitted to the church and allowed to see it exactly as it was. This also had never been done before, for hitherto at all former coronations the Abbey had been closely shut up and only the privileged few allowed to enter.

Both the aged Archbishop Temple and the octogenarian dean were fated to pass away within the year after they had assisted at this historic ceremonial. Dean Bradley appeared once more in the Abbey after the church was restored to its normal aspect, just before it was reopened for the ordinary services, on September 26th, 1902, when he officiated at the unveiling of the new stained glass in the Rose Window in Poets' Corner, which was presented to the chapter as a memorial of the late Duke of Westminster.

This was Bradley's last official appearance in the church, which he had loved so well and served so faithfully for twenty-two years. He resigned the Deanery immediately afterwards, the only dean, with the exception of Zackary Pearce, who has hitherto voluntarily retired. He died, aged 82 (March 12th, 1903), at his house in Queen Anne's Gate, which is close to the Abbey, and whence his body was taken to St. Faith's Chapel the night before the funeral. The colours of the Queen's Westminster Volunteers, whose chaplain he had been for many years, were laid upon the coffin before it was taken from Queen Anne's Gate, and the regimental band marched up and down in front of the house playing the "Dead March" as a sign of respect to the dean, during whose time their annual service in the Abbey was

inaugurated. The funeral, which was of a private character, took place on the following day, when Bradley was laid beneath the pavement in the south-west corner of the nave, near the vault of Dean Atterbury and close to the door which leads from the Deanery into the church. A brass representing the dean in his vestments, presented by the present dean and the collegiate body, now marks the place of his grave.

Bradley was succeeded at the Deanery by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, then Canon of Westminster, who is loyally carrying on the broad-minded traditions of his immediate predecessors. During the present dean's short tenure of five years there have been several notable memorial services, and one actual royal funeral, but only one interment as yet—that of Sir Henry Irving—the sole representative of the modern stage who lies in the Abbey. Irving was buried on October 20th, 1905, near the eighteenth century dramatists and close to the statue of David Garrick, on the western side of the south transept, and never, since the days of Garrick himself, had so large a concourse of members of the acting profession filled these aisles.

The royal funeral—that of George, Duke of Cambridge, grandson of George III.—was likewise a unique occasion, for this was the first time since the burial of George II.'s sons and grandsons (1765-90) that a prince's coffin had rested here. It was carried to St. Faith's Chapel, which has taken the place of the Jerusalem Chamber where the bodies used to remain before the interments, on March 21, and a state funeral, which was attended by the present King and Queen, with many others of the royal family, was celebrated here the following day, before the late Duke's remains were taken to Kensal Green, where he was interred beside his wife by his own desire. Purcell's March for trombones and trumpets, which was originally composed for the funeral of Queen Mary II., 1698, was performed, after two hundred years of neglect and probably oblivion, at this service.

No statesman has been buried here in the present century, but amongst other memorial services perhaps the

most notable was that which was held here on the day (August 31, 1903) of the funeral of the late Marquis of Salisbury, who was buried by his own wish at Hatfield. The ceremony itself was of a simple character, not a state function, but it recalled the memory of the Marquis's great ancestor, Lord Burghley, whose funeral day had also been marked by an Abbey service over four centuries before.

In May the following year, 1904, the coffin of Sir Henry Morton Stanley, the explorer, was brought to the Abbey on its way to the interment at Pirbright, and a funeral service held. As the coffin was carried up the nave, the bearers passed over the grave of Stanley's friend, the great Livingstone, some of whose family were amongst the mourners, and thirty years ago had followed the bier which contained their father's remains. Thus the memory of those early days, when Africa was still a dark continent, marked this funeral of Stanley as the close of an epoch in the history of our English explorers.

Two services in 1906 connect the historic church once again with our royal family.

The first, on February 18th, 1906, marked the burial of Queen Alexandra's father, Christian IX., King of Denmark. The second, which took place on May 13th, celebrated a joyful occasion, the safe return of the Prince and Princess of Wales from India. The King himself was there with his son and daughter-in-law and their children on this occasion, and again past was linked to present, the Dean in his sermon recalling a similar thanksgiving, in Stanley's time, when, twenty years before, King Edward, then Prince of Wales, had come back in safety from his Indian tour.

Thus in our story of the Abbey past and present are for ever meeting, and the annals of our National Church can, in a sense, never come to an end. The finger of history still writes fresh records upon its stones, records which will continue till the building crumbles into dust and only a tradition of Westminster Abbey be left for future chroniclers. But the writer's aim is accomplished if these annals of over eight hundred years are complete enough to satisfy those on both sides of the Atlantic, and even in the more distant corners of the world, who love

the Abbey and its traditions. It is true that the history of the burials and monuments here must perforce soon come to an end; but the solemn Abbey church will continue to be in the future, as in the past, the chosen place for the celebration of those public joys and sorrows which never fail to touch the nation's heart.

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